The COMMUNIST

FEBRUARY

Copy C

DUPLICATE

Y.C.L. PRE-CONVENTION DISCUSSION

The Coming Y.C.L. Convention	GIL GREEN
The Student Movement	CELESTE STRACK
Economic Situation of Youth	JAMES C. CLARK
Lenin and Spain	EARL BROWDER
Hitler Against the World	WILHELM PIECK
The Washington State Elections	MORRIS RAPORT

The Road to Victory—

Manifesto of the Communist Party of Spain

TWENTY CENTS

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW PAMPHLETS

ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT, *by Earl Browder* 10

Next steps for American labor in the struggle for peace, progress and prosperity.

HEROIC CHINA, *by P. Miff* 15

Background and perspectives of the national liberation movement in China.

TROTSKYISM AND FASCISM, *by P. Lang* 10

The significance of Trotskyism as the agent of fascism in the ranks of the working class.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, *by M. Ercoli* 05

The war in Spain analyzed as a bourgeois-democratic revolution and a struggle for national liberation.

SONGS OF THE PEOPLE 25

A collection of the most popular labor and revolutionary songs, with music.

STALIN ON THE NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION 02

Brilliant analysis of the meaning of socialist democracy.

READY SOON

WHAT MEANS A STRIKE IN STEEL, *by William Z. Foster* . .10

TALKS TO AMERICA, *by Earl Browder* 05

TO DEFEND ASSASSINS IS TO HELP FASCISM *by Georgi Dimitroff* 02

THE NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION, *by V. M. Molotov* . . .05

Send for a complete catalogue

●

Order from your bookshop or from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOL. XVI, No. 2 FEBRUARY, 1937

The COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM
PUBLISHED MONTHLY BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S.A.

CONTENTS

Review of the Month	A. B.	99
Lenin and Spain	EARL BROWDER	112
The Coming Convention of the Y.C.L.	GIL GREEN	120
The Student Movement in the United States	CELESTE STRACK	142
The Economic Situation of the Youth	JAMES C. CLARK	153
Hitler Against the World	WILHELM PIECK	161
The Washington State Elections	MORRIS RAPORT	173
The Road to Victory *Manifesto of the Communist Party of Spain*		180
Book Reviews	HELEN MARCY	190

Entered as second class matter November 2, 1927, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Send checks, money orders and correspondence to THE COMMUNIST, *P.O. Box 148, Sta. D (50 E. 13th St.), New York. Subscription rates: $2.00 a year; $1.00 for six months; foreign and Canada $2.50 a year. Single copies 20 cents.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To Our Readers

The new format of **The Communist** has evoked widespread discussion. We are desirous, however, of receiving as many comments as possible from our readers, particularly concrete suggestions and ideas for the further improvement of our leading theoretical magazine. On questions of type face, design, character of articles, drawings and illustrations, features, reviews, etc., we shall welcome letters from our readers.

Write to the Editors, **The Communist,** P. O. Box 148, Sta. D., New York City.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Employer Trouble Is a New Phase in Reactionary Conspiracy. Lewis Demands Investigation. Voice of a Sit-In Striker. Time to Fight Economic Royalists. Disarm Moguls of Corporate Industry. Labor Unity, Allies and Plant Strike Committees. Roosevelt's Message and the Strike Movements. Relief Appropriations and Relief Cutting. Fight for a People's Budget. Congress Gets Off on Wrong Foot. Real Issues in Spanish Question. Neutrality Is Not Neutral. Victims of Neutrality Myth. Lift Spanish Embargo. Birth of Progressive Bloc in Congress. Independent Legislative Program, People's Front Policy and Organized Mass Backing. Mexican Labor Wants No Trotsky. Trotskyism Is the Enemy of the People.

JOHN L. LEWIS, chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.), proposes to ask Congress to investigate the General Motors Corporation. This request should be supported by the entire labor movement and by all progressive forces in the country.

It is necessary to investigate the origin and sources of the "employer trouble" in the automotive industry. Who are the sinister forces in and behind General Motors that stand in the way of collective bargaining, that seem to be ready to precipitate the country into crisis and civil warfare but not to allow the workers to secure their legitimate and just demands? We know that General Motors is dominated by the du Ponts and Morgans —the founders and backers of the infamous "Liberty League". We know how these worthies had conspired to foist upon the country a reactionary adminstration in the last elections. We know how these same forces had tried to arouse and build up all kinds of fascist movements in the country. It is imperative now to throw the full glare of public examination and attention upon the newest phase of these reactionary conspiracies.

For this is what it is: a new phase in reactionary conspiracy against the welfare of the American people. It goes far beyond the automotive industry itself, important as that is. Congress should investigate without delay what the du Ponts are driving at and also, as suggested by John L. Lewis, whether "foreign financiers should dictate labor policy in America".

Everybody knows that it is sheer fakery for General Motors to maintain that the United Automobile Workers Union is out to get control of the plants—"to run the industry". Yet this is how Sloan and Knudsen are trying to misrepresent the issue. And

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the capitalist press is doing it darndest to spread this brazen misrepresentation. The United Automobile Workers Union stated the issues clearly and plainly in the eight-point demands of the striking workers. These demands were restated in the letter of Homer Martin, president of the union, to the General Motors executives under date of January 4, 1937. There he said:

"These issues, as I indicated, cover the recognition of the union by the corporation for the purpose of collective bargaining, recognition of seniority rights for the purpose of maintaining job security for the employees, the elimination of the speed-up system, and the establishment of a minimum wage which would assure a decent standard of living to your employees."

Can General Motors "afford" to grant these demands? Just take note of the fact that in the first nine months of 1936, as compared with the same period in 1935, its net profits have increased by 53 per cent. Not a small increase, is it? Wages have also grown somewhat; but hours have lengthened, cost of living is continually rising, and the damnable speed-up system is making life intolerable.

Even the *New York Herald Tribune,* a paper that is very friendly to du Pont, couldn't help but publish a bit of truth. Its reporter managed to interview some of the sit-in strikers in the Fisher Body plant No. 1, in Flint, and here is what he reports:

"A husky man, who came from 'some place in the South', said: 'You want to know what I hate about this place? Well, I'll tell you. And I don't give a hoot if you put it in your paper. It's these damn things', and he nodded toward the conveyor line.

" 'Why, they tear your guts out. After following that for eight hours you go home and you are too tired to eat. Why, you are even too tired and nervous to sleep. When you go to bed you shake. When you're forty you are a wreck, and you get laid off. And then—well, if you're lucky you get a tin cup. That's why I am on strike." (*New York Herald Tribune,* Jan. 10.)

Thus speaks the voice of the "satisfied and happy" employees of General Motors. It speaks the burning and just grievance of all workers exploited and oppressed by the rapacious moguls of monopoly capital. And what do these workers demand? Not the final and complete account with their exploiters. Not yet. They only present a few most elementary demands the granting of which would make it possible for them to live. But du Pont, Sloan and Knudsen won't hear of it. It is *they* who are today seeking to create a crisis, to create economic dislocations, at the same time blaming the union for the consequences. It is *they* who are trying to bring in the courts—their own people on the bench—to force the sit-in strikers out of the plants and thus to sharpen the situation. It is again they who provoked violence and bloodshed in Flint on the evening of January 11.

Indeed, the country is suffering today from serious "employer trouble". The sharks of monopoly capital are reckless and unscrupulous. If allowed they will go to any length to assert their dictatorship. These are the economic royalists whom President Roosevelt was preparing to fight. *This is the time to fight them.*

In his New Year's address, John L. Lewis said:

"The time has passed in America when the workers can be either clubbed, gassed or shot down with impunity. I solemnly warn the leaders of industry tonight that labor

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will not tolerate such policies or tactics. Labor will expect the protection of the agencies of the federal government in the pursuit of its lawful objectives. The stage is set. Industry can go forward with profit to its investors and with security to all citizens, or it can elect to destroy itself by blindly following its unreasoning prejudices and refusing to conform to the modern concept of proper industrial relationships. The leaders of industry will decide and upon them rests the responsibility of deciding wisely."

Evidently they have decided *unwisely*. Labor and the American people generally are compelled to take account of this fact. It is also important to know what the monopolies are banking on to carry them through in their "unwise" decision. Several things seem obvious. The economic royalists are counting on, first, the creation of divisions in the ranks of labor itself. Divisions along two lines: between the organized and as yet unorganized workers, and between the members of the craft and industrial unions. Both of these divisions are being fostered in the automotive industry today. A product of the General Motors' efforts to foster division between the organized and unorganized is the so-called "Flint Alliance" organized by Boysen and other agents and provocateurs of the corporation. And to help the General Motors to create the second line of division—between craft and industry—Frey and Co. of the A. F. of L. have obligingly come forward with their "instruction" to the membership of the craft unions. The leaders of the Automobile Union and of the C.I.O. will, of course, have to counter effectively these maneuvers of the enemy. They can be so countered by applying in this and similar situations some of the basic elements of strategy and tactics which Comrade Foster has developed in his series of articles in the *Daily Worker*. We have reference here especially to the following two propositions:

1. Building the strike leadership on the widest democratic basis and the setting up of strike committees in every plant and department. The aim is to give voice in the strike management, and to draw actively into strike activities, *all workers in the plant*. This, together with a continuous educational campaign explaining the issues of the strike, is bound to scotch the efforts of the corporation to mislead any substantial section of non-union workers and to alienate them from the strikers.

2. The application of the policy of the united front with the membership and (where possible) leadership of the craft unions where these constitute a factor in the situation. This is bound to be effective in counteracting the splitting and strike-breaking activities of some of the reckless reactionary leaders in the A. F. of L.

The second thing upon which General Motors is counting is to alienate from the striking workers the sympathy and support of the toiling farmers and of the middle classes generally. In fact, it is all too obvious that the moguls of finance capital who dominate General Motors are seeking momentarily as much economic dislocation as possible with a view of blaming the union for "retarding recovery". They are using this to arouse the farmers and city middle classes against the workers and the union. The Automobile Union, and the C.I.O., have sufficient resources at their disposal to counter effectively

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also this maneuver of the enemy. Indicative of these resources are the following:

1. Delegations of striking workers to farm and middle class organizations in the vicinity explaining the cause of the strike, the nature of the present "employer trouble", appealing for support of the workers and offering the support of the workers to the just demands and needs of the farmers and middle classes.

2. Organizing Citizens' Committees in the localities of the broadest composition to help maintain the civil liberties and democratic rights of the people in the strike localities.

3. A direct approach by the C.I.O. to the national organizations of farmers and middle classes, and all progressive elements, for joint action on the legislative field—nationally and by states—embracing all labor and progressive forces on a common program.

4. Such demands for congressional investigations as were made by Lewis in his New Year's address and subsequently—demands to be backed up by the united strength of all labor and progressive forces.

These are only a few of the means at the disposal of labor to win and hold the support of its natural allies in this momentous conflict with the forces of monopoly capital and reaction. For such it is likely to become because the moguls of finance have decided apparently unwisely.

And the third thing upon which General Motors is counting is the use of their own private armed forces and of governmental force against the workers, primarily the force of local government which in many instances they completely dominate. Here too the workers are far from helpless especially as they cement their unity and hold the support or sympathy of the toiling farmers and middle classes. John L. Lewis referred to this possibility in his New Year's address. He said:

> "May I respectfully suggest to the LaFollette Committee which has before it a few of industry's criminal agencies, to ask the employers why they hire and feed this anti-labor army, and why they maintain warehouses overflowing with industrial munitions and paraphernalia. May I humbly warn the Senate that labor wants this investigation pressed and wants industry disarmed, lest labor in this industrial democracy should have to take by storm the barbed wire barricades, machine guns, prepared, built and maintained by the moguls of incorporated industry."

Disarm the moguls of incorporated industry—this should become the demand of the masses from one end of the country to the other. And also another slogan expressed by Lewis—*labor will expect the protection of the agencies of the federal government in the pursuit of its lawful objectives.*

This should not mean passive dependence upon the federal government or President Roosevelt. Labor can expect protection from the federal government only if labor itself continues to organize and struggle economically and politically. Labor can *compel* protection of its rights because labor is growing strong and stronger, because it is following the correct road of independent organization and struggle. And this also needs to be said. It is quite possible that, under the guise of "protecting" labor's rights, efforts may be made by one or another of the agencies of the federal or state governments to hamper the organiza-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of the workers, to weaken them and to cheat them of their victory. This labor must be on guard against.

The importance of winning the fight with General Motors cannot be overestimated. For one thing, it involves the well-being of a large and important section of American labor. But the importance of winning this fight becomes tremendously enhanced when it is realized, first, that the workers in the basic steel industry and in mining will shortly be facing in struggle the same enemy; and, secondly, that this is the enemy—the du Pont-Morgan gang—that is one of the chief monopolistic oppressors of the American people, the fountain head of extreme capitalist reaction, the sponsors of fascism in the United States. The workers in General Motors must win because their cause is just, because they are battling for the cause of the whole of American labor, because they are fighting for the progress and prosperity of the people of the United States.

* * *

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S message to the 75th Congress contained not a word of reference to the "employer trouble" in marine, in auto, in steel, in glass, in coal, and in the basic industries generally. Here was a time which called imperatively for a stern warning to the economic royalists to obey the laws of the land and to desist from making trouble. Yet the President chose to say nothing. Why?

There can be no doubt that millions of workers who cast their votes for the President on November 3 expected to find in his message just such a warning to the open-shoppers, to the corporations that are preparing to machine-gun and tear-gas their employees in order to make them abandon the fight for collective bargaining and better conditions. These workers, and their friends among the farmers and middle classes, must have been deeply disappointed. This feeling of disappointment should go a long way toward strengthening the workers in their determination to fortify their own independent power on the economic and political fields.

Another matter that has already caused widespread disappointment among the people was the President's treatment of the relief situation and the relief needs. Somehow the President manages not to face the plain but basic fact that there are in the country today no less than 10,000,000 unemployed workers whereas industry is about "normal". He also refuses to face another basic fact, that more than one-half of the farming population is still in dire straits, living in indescribable poverty, and that even the most optimistic outlook for American agriculture in the coming years holds out few promises to these small and landless farmers.

There is little comfort for the workers and farmers in President Roosevelt's optimism and hope that capitalism and capitalist democracy must and will solve these problems. We know that it can't and won't. But if he really believes it can, and is interested in making it do so, what is he proposing for today and tomorrow? Judging by his opening message to Congress, he is ready to take off the W.P.A. additional hundreds of thousands of unemployed, thus dooming them to starvation; he is also ready

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to abandon thousands of drought-stricken farmers.

In his letter on relief to Speaker Bankhead, the President asks for an appropriation of $790,000,000 to carry the W.P.A. through from February 1 to June 30, 1937. Yet even the Mayors' Conference urged upon the President a minimum appropriation of $877,500,000 while the American Workers' Alliance—speaking for the unemployed—finds that the needs call for no less than $1,040,000,000.

Behind these differences in figures stands the difference between tolerable existence and sheer misery and starvation for hundreds of thousands of American toilers. President Roosevelt proposes to shift 250,000 farmers from the W.P.A. to the Resettlement Administration. This means, instead of receiving $40 per month from the W.P.A., a farming family will be getting from the R.A. the starvation wage of $15.86. Further: there are at present no less than 300,000 unemployed employables kept on direct relief. The President, though he dislikes the dole, is willing to leave them there. The American Workers' Alliance demands they be transferred to W.P.A. And lastly, the present wages on the W.P.A. These wages are just about enough to keep body and soul together. The President, apparently sharing the fears of the economic royalists that "high" relief wages compete with private industry, is willing to leave the wages on W.P.A. at their present low levels. The American Workers' Alliance demands a 20 per cent increase in wages.

These are the differences between the figures of the President and those of the Workers' Alliance, the latter having been indorsed by numerous trade unions. The toiling masses of this country can have little difficulty in making up their minds as to which of these figures is more correct.

Mark Sullivan of the *New York Herald Tribune* is very much displeased with the mass actions organized by the Workers' Alliance in support of its program. He dislikes especially the mass delegation to Washington on January 15 to lay before Congress the demands of the people. He "fears" this sort of mass pressure on Congress "can come dangerously close to intimidation". But the true explanation for the opposition of the Sullivans to the mass pressure is their opposition to the *demands* of the Workers' Alliance. Sullivan, you must remember, is a Hoover and Landon man—a "budget-balancer". He does not even try to hide it. For he says also that these demands of the Workers' Alliance, "if granted, will postpone indefinitely the balancing of the budget and may bring on inflation". (*New York Herald Tribune*, Jan. 12.)

Old Liberty League stuff which the people had repudiated most decisively on November 3. But it comes back again not only in the writings of the Sullivans, which is natural, but also in the President's message and especially in his budget.

The key to this budget is the idea of balancing. True, it is very far yet from being balanced, but the idea that it must be balanced shortly and in such a way as will not hurt the economic royalists—this idea is uppermost in the budget. Here are some of its main features: no new taxation upon the rich, leaving in force all the old taxes upon the poor; niggardly and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

totally inadequate provisions for relief; no provision at all for the burning need of a thorough federal housing program, or for the handling of the acute farmer-tenant question, or for the refinancing of farm and small home owners' mortgages; ample provisions for war preparations.

One might say that the President did mention these problems in his opening message. The answer is: yes, he tipped his hat to them. But now we are dealing with his budget. Here is where provisions have to be made for financing the required measures. But none are to be found in the budget. And this is probably the explanation: either nothing serious is contemplated, or, if something will be proposed later on, the way of financing will be by government borrowing. Chances are that if the masses do not press, and press hard, nothing will be done. Because the President's budget is dominated also by another idea, in addition to balancing. It is not to increase the national debt.

From which it follows that the struggle against the budget-balancers at the expense of the people is not finished by a long shot. *It has just begun.* The Farmer-Labor and progressive forces in Congress have a job cut out for them. It is to fight at once for adequate provisions for relief to workers and farmers. *It is also to stage a major struggle on the budget as a whole.* This is in its very nature a struggle of principles. The principles underlying a people's budget call for the adequate satisfaction of the most burning needs of the masses financed by taxation of high incomes and fortunes. No inflation and no deflation. A budget balanced at the expense of the economic royalists. Such a people's budget must anticipate the most burning legislative measures for the people's needs and provide funds through taxation of the rich to finance these measures. *Fight for a people's budget.*

* * *

CONGRESS legislation got off on a wrong foot. We refer to the passage of the Joint Congressional Resolution prohibiting the shipment of munitions to Spain. In this there is a serious warning to the Farmer-Labor democracy of this country.

When it is said that this resolution was railroaded through Congress, without sufficient preparation and discussion, by the Roosevelt administration, it is true. It is true that Congress was stampeded and dragooned into passing this resolution. For this the administration, and the President in the first place, bears full responsibility.

But why was the administration successful in stampeding Congress, and a lot of people outside Congress? Of course, the administration has tremendous resources for accomplishing such ends. These should not be minimized. Yet the Farmer-Labor and progressive forces are not helpless at all. They too have plenty of resources. But these were not mobilized. And why? Because the progressives still have not got a sufficiently clear understanding of their tasks and position. Because they haven't been pushing hard enough towards a *unified* people's program, and towards united action inside Congress and outside.

It is a fact that large numbers of Congressmen did not like the administration's resolution on Spain. Yet

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only one member of the House voted against it—to his eternal honor and that of the Farmer-Labor movement—Representative John Toussant Bernard of Minnesota. And the endorsement of his action from many sources shows that the people will take a correct position when informed of the real issues.

Yes, *the real issues.* The trouble is that in the camp of the Farmer-Labor progressive forces there is still insufficient clarity on the real issues. And hence it could come about that, for example, Senator Nye, who is known as an opponent of fascism and a friend of democracy and peace, would vote on the Spanish resolution the same way as Senators Pittman and Vandenberg. Unbelievable it is, but most progressive Congressmen voted on this question the way Hearst wanted. What is it that creates this confusion and makes possible these unnatural coincidences? The answer must be faced squarely. It is the contradictions and inherent impossibilities of so-called neutrality.

Hitler had no difficulty in recognizing that the action of Congress was helpful to himself and his "cause" which is the promotion of fascism and war. A wireless to *The New York Times* from Berlin, January 7, says:

> "The semi-official *Diplomatische Korrespondenz,* which speaks for the Foreign office, cannot find words strong enough to express its satisfaction with the American stand."

Clear, isn't it? And will anyone maintain (except Hearst and his like) that Hitler is happy over the American stand because it works for peace? And what is it that Hitler's mouthpiece praises especially? It is the new interpretation of "neutrality" which the President is pushing forward as distinguished from the old, Wilson "neutrality". And so the *Diplomatische Korrespondenz* concludes:

> "It must be recognized that the United States follows this policy, and consequently has demonstrated its sense of responsibility not only in its own interests but in the interests of universal peace."

Hitler talking about universal peace and deriving satisfaction from the American "neutrality"! Shouldn't this be enough to explode this neutrality? Apparently it is not. It is therefore necessary to go into the matter further. And perhaps the best way of doing it is to examine the remark of Senator Nye to the effect that the Spanish resolution was not neutral since it was passed in the middle of a war and clearly to the detriment of one side—the democratic government of Spain. Senator Pittman did not like the remark of Nye. Naturally. But Senator Nye was correct none the less. The passage of the Spanish resolution *was an unneutral act.* We must not let the people forget this.

But to say this alone is not enough. What should now be obvious to all true friends of peace and democracy is also this: *neutrality itself, in the present world situation, is unneutral.*

Neutrality in the Far East would mean letting Japan gobble up China, attack the Soviet Union and prepare to make war upon the United States and England. Neutrality in the Western hemisphere would mean letting Germany and Japan get a sufficiently firm stronghold in the Latin-American countries for the war which both are planning in Europe and Asia. Neutrality in Europe, which Hitler is

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

championing especially, means to destroy all vestiges of collective security, subjugation of the small nations to Germany, and an open road for a Hitler war against France and the Soviet Union. And who will stop him from attacking England?

We must invite the American people to look at "neutrality" as it is and not at some sort of ideal neutrality which does not and cannot exist. And if they do so, they will at once note that President Roosevelt has *many* neutralities, not one. In the Western hemisphere, his policy is to make it difficult for Japan and Germany to establish themselves there more firmly, as well as to check British expansion. This is one kind of "neutrality", the kind that Hitler does not like so much, nor does Japan, nor does England, for that matter, because this brand of "neutrality" works out to be unneutral from the point of view of the imperialists of these countries. And in this they are right: whatever it is, it is not neutrality. Yet the policy has in it certain positive elements, and these arise precisely from the fact that the Roosevelt policy in the Western hemisphere is not neutral to the aggressive efforts of Germany and Japan —the two main dangers of war. While designed to promote the imperialist interests of the American bourgeoisie, the Roosevelt "neutrality" policy in the Western hemisphere tends to make more difficult the war preparations of the two chief aggressors. And in this sense works to a certain degree in the interests of peace.

In the Far East President Roosevelt is trying to develop a different sort of "neutrality". His objective there is to try to re-establish the status quo, *i.e.*, the condition prevailing in the Far East prior to the Japanese seizure of Manchuria. He is evidently looking for an opportunity to get together a conference of Far Eastern powers to initiate this process of re-establishing the status quo. Whatever the merits of this policy (and it could be developed into a policy genuinely serving the interests of peace), it certainly is not "neutrality" as the thing is being idealized. It is very definitely unneutral to the Japanese imperialists.

And for Europe, the President has a different "neutrality" again. There, where American imperialist interests are involved not as directly as in the Far East and Latin-America, Roosevelt's policy semes to be orientating on rapprochement and collaboration with England and possibly France. With what aim? Roughly it could be stated like this: to lend moral and political encouragement to the policies of these two powers in Europe in order to secure from them a measure of support for American policy in the Far East and Latin-America. Is this a policy of neutrality as it is idealized? Not at all. It only *appears* neutral because the interests pursued there by the President are not as direct as is the case in the Far East and in Latin-America. The policies of England in Europe are not neutral at all; and to the extent that Roosevelt encourages these policies, as he obviously does. he is pursuing an unneutral policy in Europe.

This was glaringly demonstrated in the passage of the Spanish resolution. We do not pretend to know all the reasons that moved the administration to rush it through Congress at this time. But certain things are evident,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

among them the wish of the Roosevelt administration to adjust American policy in Spain to the present plans and maneuvers of England and France, that is, to the sham and treachery of the so-called "non-intervention" policy.

Again we say: Senator Nye was absolutely right in branding the Congressional resolution as unneutral. And this—because neutrality itself is unneutral, and can be nothing else in the present world situation.

Just what is the meaning of the fact that, with the exception of Representative Bernard, all the divergent and seriously disagreeing tendencies in Congress lined up behind this resolution? Supporters of reaction and fascism, enemies of reaction and fascism, middle-of-the-roaders—all, except Bernard, voted for the resolution. How could it happen? There is no explanation necessary for the votes of the Vandenbergs and Robinsons, of the reactionaries in the two capitalist parties. They sought to hurt the democratic government of Spain. That's why the Republican reactionaries voted for the Spanish resolution though their foreign policies generally are not the same as those of the Roosevelt administration. No explanation is necessary for the vote of the middle-of-the-roaders because these are supporting Roosevelt's foreign policy and the Spanish resolution is a necessary development of it. But what about the bulk of the Farmer-Laborites and progressives? They certainly did not want to hurt the democratic government of Spain, nor did they especially want to encourage the hypocritical "non-intervention" policy of England and France, nor would they willingly help Hitler. What then is the explanation?

Inevitably we must conclude: *the Farmer-Laborites and progressives fell victim to the myth of neutrality.* Roosevelt knew he was not neutral. He was using the issue of neutrality to push through a measure which he believed will help him improve the relations with England and France and thus to gain support for his policies in Latin-America and especially in the Far East. And since the so-called non-intervention policy of these two powers is definitely unneutral to the Spanish government and favorable to the fascists, Roosevelt must have known that he was urging an unneutral measure. The reactionaries, as already pointed out, also knew what they were doing: helping the fascists and glad of it.

On the other hand, the Farmer-Laborites and progressives who voted for the same resolution were genuinely in captivity by the myth of neutrality. Many of them saw its contradictions and realized that this so-called neutrality measure was unneutral but were unable at the moment to extricate themselves from the meshes of a non-existing neutrality. We repeat: they fell victim to a myth.

It is imperatively necessary for the Farmer-Labor-progressive forces to free themselves from the nets and hopeless contradictions of so-called "neutrality" and to undertake to develop an all-round foreign policy for the United States *based upon a genuine peace program.* The platform adopted by the Chicago Farmer-Labor Conference in the spring of 1936 contained the first elements and beginnings for such a program. More fully and thoroughly this program

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has been developed in the "Progressive People's Peace Program" adopted on January 10, 1937, by the Hennepin County Convention of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota to be submitted to the state convention of that party.

We say that this is imperatively necessary because otherwise there is serious danger that the progressive forces will again get themselves tangled up in the contradictions of mythical neutrality. This danger is already evident in the latest expressions of opinion by Senator Clark as well as by Senator Nye on the new "neutrality" proposals to come before the 75th Congress. The reaction on the part of some of the progressives to the evident unneutrality of the Spanish resolution is to urge *more* neutrality, more *absolute* neutrality, *mandatory* neutrality. We respectfully submit that this would be taking the wrong road if the purpose is to keep America out of war.

Senator Bennet Champ Clark declared that "a flat, mandatory, automatic policy of absolute neutrality is the greatest contribution we could possibly make to the peace of the world". This may look good, offhand. But what it really means is isolation, "perfect isolation", and this is sheer illusion. It does not and cannot exist except as a screen for war-makers to prepare their bloody deeds. That's why Hearst and Coughlin are such warm champions of isolation.

Especially after the sad experience with the Spanish resolution, it is time for the progressives to realize that the issue for the American people, who detest war and are opposed to it, does not lie between absolute neutrality and relative neutrality; nor does it lie between mandatory legislation and discretionary legislation. The real issue is: fascism and war or democracy and peace. This is today a world issue and must be treated as such.

It would be too bad indeed if all that the progressives were to learn from the experience with the Spanish resolution was to prohibit the President to collaborate with other peace powers for the purpose of maintaining peace. That would be exactly what Hearst and Hitler want. The trouble with the Spanish resolution is not that it contained elements of indirect collaboration with England and France on the Spanish question, but that it was collaboration *for a wrong purpose*. Had President Roosevelt followed a true peace policy, he would have sought to urge upon the British and French governments the truly democratic and peace policy which the Soviet Union is pursuing in Spain as well as in the rest of the world. And he would have found a mighty response among the people not alone in the United States but also of England and France. In doing so, he would have done the only possible thing to prevent war and to keep the United States out of it.

Let us work for the lifting of the Spanish embargo resolution as soon as possible. Let us not get tangled up in the artificial debate of "mandatory" or "discretion". Let us not permit the reactionaries to intimidate the progressives with the cry that the American people will not support an active peace policy. Many Americans may still be saying "neutrality" but what they really mean is peace and opposition to the fascist war-makers.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let the progressives take the issue to the people, explain what is really involved, champion an active peace policy before the masses, and pretty soon it will become evident to all that the majority of the American people are against fascism and war, that they are for democracy and peace and that they are ready to support a foreign policy by their government which actively promotes the interests of democracy and peace.

* * *

Not everything was negative in the opening days of the 75th Congress. To compensate partly for the passage of the Spanish resolution, there took place in Congress an event of an entirely different order. We refer to the organization in the House of Representatives of the progressive and Farmer-Labor group. It is an event of far-reaching importance. To enable this group to play the truly historic role which it is called upon to fulfil, three things are especially necessary.

1. A consistent legislative program of its own and a clear independent political line giving expression to the immediate needs and demands of the Farmer-Labor democracy of this country.

2. Skillful and flexible collaboration with all progressive elements in the Democratic Party and also among the Republicans.

3. Systematic collaboration between the progressive Farmer-Labor group in Congress with similar forces outside of Congress and the setting up of state and national legislative conferences to collaborate with the Congressional group and to back it up.

The membership of this group proper consists of 13 Representatives —the delegations from Minnesota and Wisconsin respectively. These have organized themselves into an independent group, had nominated their own candidate for Speaker of the House, Representative Schneider, and elected their own floor leader, Representative Boileau. It announced its formation and aims and proposes to secure for itself all the rights and privileges due it as an independent political alignment, and for this it will have to fight hard.

This is a great and promising beginning. If the above three things are realized, this group will prove to be the center of mobilization of all progressive forces in Congress, a most effective weapon for the struggle to realize the People's Mandate in the elections. And by this very token, the group will prove a historic milestone on the road of building up a People's Front Party—a Farmer-Labor Party—in the United States.

* * *

Expressing the feelings of the bulk of Mexican labor, as well as of other progressive forces, the Mexican Confederation of Labor (C.T.M.) said in an official statement that Trotsky's presence in Mexico is not desirable.

The C.T.M. first swept aside the sophistries and fake arguments about the right of asylum. And like a true working class and progressive organization (nothing like the Trotsky-poisoned *Socialist Call*) states its position on the question of asylum clearly. It says:

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The C.T.M. is not against the right of asylum. It considers it one of the conquests of which international law, so feeble at present, can still be proud. For this reason, the C.T.M. has defended this right with all determination and has demanded that asylum be given *"the victims of imperialism and of reaction"*.

This is how honest workers and progressives speak: asylum be granted *to victims of imperialism and of reaction*. Let the *Socialist Call* and Norman Thomas study that a bit. Maybe they'll learn something. Or, is it too late?

The C.T.M. quite evidently has no desire to champion "asylum" for assassins of Kirov and plotters of similar assassinations.

The C.T.M. very definitely declares that Trotsky's presence in Mexico threatens the unity of the working class; is a danger to the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and city middle classes; is a danger to the People's Front movement in Mexico which is keeping reaction and fascism at bay; is therefore a danger to the interests of the Mexican people.

This too is clear. It is spoken by honest workers and progressives. Quite different from the Trotsky-ridden *Socialist Call* which brazenly and hypocritically involves the cause of labor unity to justify its defense of Trotsky and Trotskyism.

Very significant is the fact that the *Socialist Call* (and Norman Thomas —the great champion of "pure" socialism) is always ready to find excuses and extenuating circumstances for every crime that Trotskyism is committing. We have not forgotten yet the ease with which these worthies have accepted the dastardly murder of Kirov as contrasted with the excitement and "moral" indignation displayed by these same people upon learning that the Soviet government has executed those guilty of the unspeakable murder.

Just recently Max Eastman delivered himself of an open incitement to counter-revolution against the Soviet Union. He did that from a platform which also saw Norman Thomas. And what do you thing the *Socialist Call* had to say on Eastman? It was "sad". It was just "poetic license". Nothing more.

Honest workers, let alone sincere Socialists, will not and cannot tolerate in their midst Trotskyism, as the Socialist Party is doing today. For there is no more sinister and vicious enemy of the unity of the working class today than this Trotskyist gang of cut-throats and counter-revolutionists. The arrival of the chief of this gang in Mexico will spur on all anti-fascists to even greater efforts to build the unity of the working class, to build the People's Front, and to clear their ranks of all contamination from Trotsky to Trotskyism.

A.B.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LENIN AND SPAIN

BY EARL BROWDER

THIS is the thirteenth year we have been meeting to commemorate Lenin,* the founder of the first socialist state, the leader of the oppressed of all the world, the teacher and guide of ever new tens of millions every year in their struggle for a new and better life. Thirteen years ago Lenin died, but never was his spirit more powerfully shaping the destinies of mankind than today.

What would Lenin speak about, if he could be with us tonight? Unquestionably he would speak, first of all, about the epic struggle for human liberation being waged for over six months by the heroic Spanish people, assaulted by the concentrated forces of world reaction. If we would honor the memory of Lenin, then tonight's meeting must be, primarily, the occasion of raising higher the banner of solidarity with the embattled democracy of Spain.

A deep blush of shame should sweep over every American, whenever Spain is mentioned, since that day, at the opening of Congress, when the Administration at Washington rushed in such indecent haste to place a blockade against democratic Spain—a gratuitous act of war against a friendly nation—upon the hypocritical plea of "neutrality" and the desire to keep out of war. To avoid embarrassing Hitler, who threatens the whole world with war, our government actually performed an act of war against Spain, against Spanish democracy and for the alien fascist hordes bombarding Madrid and slaughtering hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children. And it was only a year ago that the same people were telling us that a blockade against fascist Italy, in the act of raping Ethiopia, was impossible because that would threaten peace. Evidently the principle that is guiding these policies is to help the fascists in the hope they will not attack America, but under no circumstances to help smaller nations, even though democracies, but rather help their enemies, because these democracies neither could nor would threaten America. It is the principle of rewarding our enemies and punishing our friends. And this is called a "peace" policy! What utter degradation to which we are descending!

Our enemies accuse the Communist Party that we, in demanding the support of Spanish democracy, are bringing some alien doctrine to America. They say our Leninist principles are "imported from Moscow". It is really too bad, if true, that defense of de-

* Address delivered at Lenin Memorial Meeting held January 20, 1937, at Madison Square Garden, New York City.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mocracy can come only from Moscow. It is true that of all governments of the world, only that of the Soviet Union has stood staunchly, without wavering, at the side of Spanish democracy in its hour of trouble. That is to the glory of socialism and the Soviet Union, and the shame of all governments calling themselves democracies. But it is not true that this same spirit must be imported from Moscow to New York. In America there still live the fierce passion for liberty and hatred of tyrants which brought our country to birth and preserved it in many trials, the revolutionary traditions at the heart of Americanism—even though our government has betrayed this Americanism.

What arrogant stupidity to bring forward this blockade of democratic Spain in the name of Americanism! Even Al Smith, the mouthpiece for the du Ponts and Hearst, must pay lip service to Thomas Jefferson as the first great ideologist of the American democratic tradition. Let us ask Thomas Jefferson where he stands on this issue.

In a report on some negotiations with Spain, March 18, 1792, Jefferson observed:

"In the course of this war [American revolution] we were joined by France as an ally, and by Spain and Holland as associates; having a common enemy, each sought that common enemy wherever they could find him."

About the French revolution Jefferson said, in a letter to Edward Rutledge, August 25, 1791:

"I still hope the French revolution will issue happily. I feel that the permanence of our own leans in some degree on that; and that failure there would be a powerful argument to prove that there must be a failure here."

And what should be done when a sister democracy is threatened by a concentration of enemies? Jefferson gave the answer when he recorded a conversation with George Washington, dated December 27, 1792:

". . . he [Washington] observed to me that he thought it was time to endeavor to effect a stricter connection with France. He went into the circumstance of dissatisfaction between Spain and Great Britain and us, and observed there was no nation on whom we could rely, at all times, but France. (I was much pleased with the tone of this observation. It was the very doctrine which had been my polar star. . . .)"

When France was attacked and blockaded, did Jefferson want the United States also to rush to join the blockade? Not at all, although the United States was a relatively weak country. In a letter to James Madison, Jefferson said, in March, 1793:

"The idea seems to gain credit that the naval powers combining against France will prohibit supplies, even of provisions, to that country. . . . I should hope that Congress . . . would instantly exclude from our ports all the manufactures, produce, vessels, and subjects of the nations committing this aggression, during the continuance of the aggression, and till full satisfaction is made for it."

What a world of difference between this bold defense of democracy against all its enemies, and the present cowardly crawling on the belly before Hitler!

Jefferson further elaborated this fundamental American doctrine in a letter to Gouvernour Morris, Minister to France, on March 12, 1793

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

". . . we received information that a National Assembly had met, with full power to transact the affairs of the nation, and soon afterwards the Minister of France here presented an application for three million of livres, to be laid out in provisions to be sent to France. . . . We had no hesitation to comply with the application . . . and we shall . . . omit no opportunity of convincing that nation how cordially we wish to serve them. Mutual good offices, mutual affection, and similar principles of government, seem to destine the two nations for the most intimate communion; and I cannot too much press it upon you, to improve every opportunity which may occur . . . for placing our commerce with that nation and its dependencies on the freest and most encouraging footing possible."

How far, how far, we have traveled from Jefferson, when an administration acts upon the opposite principles; instead of advancing finances, places all possible obstacles in the way of simple transfer of the funds of the friendly democracy in trouble; when no opportunity is lost to demonstrate that no help will be permitted, even of private persons. Mutual good offices, mutual affection, and similar principles of government, count no more than the principle of defense of democracy and peace. Commerce is prohibited, instead of made as free as possible. It is the anti-democratic attackers to whom Jefferson would apply the embargo, but our administration has turned Jefferson's principles exactly into their opposite.

President Roosevelt would do well to ponder the words of Jefferson in a letter to Edmund Randolph, June 2, 1793, in which he said:

"Indeed, I fear that if this summer should prove disastrous to the French, it will dampen that energy of republicanism in our new congress, from which I had hoped so much reformation."

Jefferson's doctrine, so opposite to that cowardly "neutrality" that attacks a friendly democracy instead of aiding it, expressed the deepest sentiments of the masses of the American people, not only at that moment but generally. During the French Revolution, money and arms were sent to France, American Jacobin Clubs were formed here, and all except the extreme reactionaries openly expressed their support and admiration for its democratic principles.

During the European revolutions of 1848, America showed deep sympathy for the revolutionaries. They welcomed with great acclaim such revolutionary leaders as Weydemeyer, Kossuth, and Carl Schurtz. During our Civil War, it was the boast of the North that revolutionary leaders from Europe were fighting in the Union ranks against the slave power, just as it was our boast that the French, Spanish and Hollanders helped us in our War of Independence.

When, during the Civil War, Great Britain tried, not to place an embargo against the North as we have against Spain, but merely to grant belligerent rights to the South, Lincoln almost went to war against Britain. This was avoided only because Karl Marx rallied the English working class to defeat their own Tories and prevent them from sending arms to the South.

These are the true doctrines of Americanism. They fit in exactly to the doctrines of Leninism. That is why we, who meet here tonight to honor the memory of Lenin and continue his work, are the ones to whom it is left to quote the exact words of Jefferson in relation to the burning

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

issues of the day. And that is why we can truthfully say that Communism is the Americanism of the twentieth century and that we, followers of Lenin, most carefully preserve the treasures of the American tradition, which our government has betrayed.

It is no accident that it has been left to the Soviet Union to be the only firm and reliable friend of embattled democracy in Europe today. That is because the big capitalists, and all whom they control, are abandoning democracy in favor of fascism. Wherever the big capitalists still hold power, democracy is being attacked and threatened with destruction. It is impossible to defend democracy without uniting the people against big capital, to wrest from it the controlling power. The Soviet Union is able firmly to defend democracy everywhere, because it has within its own territory completely eliminated capitalism and all exploitation, and developed for itself the greatest democracy the world has ever known.

Thus it is at the exact historical moment when the capitalists are overthrowing their own democracies that the Soviet Union comes forward with its new Constitution, which translates the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness into the guaranteed right of every citizen to work, to education, and to leisure, the material realization of those things which in bourgeois democracies are but abstract promises to the mass of the people.

The new Constitution of the Soviet Union registers what is already achieved, not what is promised for the future. It marks the fruits of the great work of Lenin, whose memory we honor tonight, the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the largest country in the world.

It is the sign of the greatness of Lenin that he left with us when he died thirteen years ago, not only a firm and monolithic Party, fully consecrated to his teachings, but a disciple who could take up Lenin's work and bring it to completion, an architect who could fully guide the building of the structure of the socialist society, who could defeat all its enemies, who could make it an impregnable fortress in a world of enemies. Just as Lenin's name was carved indelibly beside those of Marx and Engels by his creation of the Bolshevik Party and the victory of October, 1917, just as surely has another name taken its place beside that of Lenin, by virtue of the victorious socialist construction, symbolized in the new Constitution. New glory has been added to the names of Marx, Engels, and Lenin by that other name, that of the leader of all the progressive forces of the world, Joseph Stalin.

Who is so poor of spirit that he cannot rejoice in the recognition of the world-shaping achievements of the tens of millions of the formerly downtrodden and oppressed, organized around the working class by the guiding genius of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin? Who is so blind that he cannot see that these achievements open up a new and glorious page in the history of mankind?

Socialism is inevitable, because the working class inevitably responds with enthusiasm and heroism to the inspiring call of such leaders. Capitalism is doomed beyond all reprieve, because it can by no means produce men or ideas which shape the human spirit

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beyond the most ephemeral moment.

The fight for democracy, peace, and progress will go forward to new victories in Spain, and in the United States, as throughout the world, because it has on its side that solid bulwark established by Lenin, the Soviet Union, because that bulwark has been completed and made impregnable by the genius of Stalin.

Everywhere in the capitalist world this fight marches forward under the banner of the People's Front against fascism and war. The People's Front is growing everywhere. And everywhere the most energetic and loyal builders of this front are the Communists, trained in the school and on the model of Lenin and Stalin. The men and women of the Communist International, in all countries, whom millions recognize as their guides, are of that mold: Dimitroff, the hero of Hitler's Reichstag Fire Trial in Leipzig, who singlehanded and in irons met and defeated the Nazi dictatorship, convicted it before the whole world; Thaelmann, the banner of liberation of the whole German people, whom even after four years Hitler dares not bring to trial; Andre Marty, the hero of the Black Sea Mutiny of the French fleet, now a front line defender of Madrid; Carlos Prestes, leader of the Brazilian people's struggle against a fascistic regime, now threatened with judicial murder; Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Soviets and leader of the national liberation movement of his country. Each of these men, embodying the best of the national traditions of his country, is at the same time the embodiment of internationalism, as Thomas Jefferson was for the America of his day.

As the American democratic revolution of the eighteenth century had its Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr, so the proletarian revolutionary movement of the twentieth century has its Trotsky. As the British Tories made heroes of these traitors, so do the capitalist class and its press shriek in our ears the "revolutionary virtues" of the traitor Trotsky. The same press to which the slightest labor militancy is anathema as "Bolshevism", which even raved against the "Bolshevism" of President Roosevelt, sings the softest songs of praise for the "revolutionary", the "ultra-revolutionary" Trotsky. In the fascist countries, where death is the penalty for distributing a Communist leaflet, Trotsky's books are placed by the authorities in the prison libraries for political prisoners. Truly the fascists and reactionaries know their own men; but just as surely does the working class know its own. That is why the counter-revolutionary scum of Trotskyism is being thrown out of the labor movement as fast as it shows its face. That is why the Socialist Party, which swallowed this poison less than a year ago, is already in the paroxysms of vomiting it forth again. That is why Lenin, through long years, fought against and defeated Trotsky and Trotskyism, and thereby made possible the Russian Revolution.

Political reaction and fascism were given a resounding defeat in the last elections in the United States. The people, by overwhelming majority, gave a mandate for democracy, for progress, for higher living standards, for extended civil rights, and for peace.

But, as we Communists warned the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

masses from the beginning of the election campaign, the Roosevelt middle-of-the-road administration cannot be trusted to carry out this mandate. On every point it is compromising or betraying the mandate of the elections. Only the mass organization and struggle of the people, only the building of the People's Front, can realize that mandate. This is the message of Leninism to the people of America today.

Already this spirit of Leninism is beginning to permeate the American masses. They are building their mass organizations. They are beginning to conduct mass struggles to realize the election mandate.

We are proud of the American workers, proud that already they have produced hundreds of American Lafayettes who stand in the front lines of the defense of Madrid, of the democratic republic of Spain!

We are proud of the Farmer-Labor Party movement, which produced the voice of Congressman Bernard which alone shouted "I object" to the betrayal of democracy by the voting of the blockade on Spain! That shout crystallized the conscience of the nation, and rendered inevitable the revocation of that crime and the re-establishment of the principles of Jefferson—and of Lenin—in our relations to Spain.

We are proud of the American people who organized the North American Committee for Spanish Democracy, which has collected a million dollars in money, clothing, and food, and sent it to the Spanish fighters.

We are proud of the Society for Technical Aid to Spain, which is organizing all-around measures to strengthen the forces of Spanish democracy!

We are proud of the trade unions which are conducting the valiant battles for industrial democracy in the auto and marine industries, in steel, in textile, and in a dozen industries and a thousand localities!

We are proud of the unity of the unemployed, in the Workers Alliance, which registered so effectively last week in Washington the demands of the millions of Americans unemployed and of the whole working class, for effective work and relief measures, and for social insurance!

We are proud of our Negro brothers, who are rising to organization and struggle to realize some of that equality, the promise of which added their votes to the great popular mandate of the elections

We are proud of the great united youth movement, whose pilgrimage to Washington will soon place their demands before Congress and the President, and of the united student movement which has brought life to our stagnant universities, colleges and high schools! We are proud of the women's movement which is now crystallizing around the Women's Charter!

We are proud of all the rising manifestations of the People's Front in the United States. We see in them the proof that the American people will meet and solve their problems, will crush fascism, and will open up the way for the future realization of socialism in our country also, will realize the prophecy of Lenin

These organizations and movements give the immediate program of the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

People's Front in America. In fighting for the immediate aims of these mass movements, the Communists are at the same time the best and only consistent fighters for the new socialist society.

The fight for the People's Front in all its manifestations is the fight for the principles of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; it is the fight for the whole future of humanity.

Writing during the formative period of the Communist movement, Karl Marx showed in *The Communist Manifesto* that the Communist Party has no interests separate and apart from those of the working class. These interests at the same time are those of all progressive humanity. The Party of Lenin is an integral part of the working class and at the same time its most conscious element. As such it gives leadership to the working class and to the masses of toilers.

Recognizing the striving of the working class for a better life, the Communist Party does not rely on the spontaneous revolt of the masses. As the leader of the working class, the Communist Party has an unfailing guide in the theory of scientific socialism. And, indeed, socialism is a science. It embodies the best achievements and creation of human thought and action throughout the centuries. In order, therefore, to achieve the goal toward which human progress is striving, the goal of Lenin, it is necessary to be fully equipped with the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

In order that the great mass of the people may have the means of achieving their immediate needs and improving their conditions of life now, and at the same time the guarantee of the ultimate realization of a free, classless society, we must build the indispensible instrument for that purpose, the Communist Party. For practical success in the struggle to maintain peace, to preserve and extend democracy, and through the struggle for liberty to achieve socialism, a stronger and bigger Communist Party is the necessary condition for such practical achievements.

It is therefore in the interests of the working class and of the great majority of the people that we appeal to you to join the party of Lenin. It was Lenin who created this basic instrument for the struggle for liberty and progress, for a better life and against capitalism, the heroic and united Bolshevik Party to which it is our honor to belong.

Our forefathers proclaimed that vigilance is the price of liberty. So, too, it is necessary to preserve the strictest vigilance within our Party so that we may prevent every attempt to smuggle the contraband of anti-Leninist ideas into the party of Lenin. Such ideas, which are harmful to the striving of progressive humanity, must be defeated wherever they make their appearance.

While commemorating the death of Lenin, every member of the Communist Party should ask himself the question: Have I done all within my power to build and strengthen the party of Lenin? We are strong, and are growing stronger because of our devotion to the cause of the toilers, the cause of human progress. That is why obstacles and difficulties along our path will not hinder our progress.

In serving the real and most pressing needs of the people, we say that

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there is nothing more important, nothing of deeper concern to us than the great struggle for democracy in Spain. The untold sacrifice and heroism of the Spanish people are wrought not only for the benefit of the masses of that country. Their battle is being waged against international fascism. They are fighting against those who strive to plunge the entire world into the hell of war. When the brave fighters of Spain proclaim that fascism shall not pass, we too raise our voices and join our hands in their struggle. Nothing that we do can even approximate that which they have sacrificed for us. It is in accord with the best of American devotion to peace and democracy that we do all in our power to help make Madrid the tomb of fascism!

Let this thirteenth anniversary of the death of Lenin mark the great strengthening and maturing of the party of Lenin, the Communist Party. Let it mark another period of great advance of the unity of the workers, and the gathering of all the oppressed people in the People's Front. Let it mark the renewed determination of millions growing ever larger, that the fascists and war-makers shall never be allowed to control our country. Let it mark a new forward march of the American people, hand in hand with the democratic peoples of the world, to wider democracy, to greater prosperity, to more secure peace.

That is the message of the Communist Party, of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE COMING CONVENTION OF THE Y.C.L.

REPORT TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE

BY GIL GREEN

THE Eighth National Convention of the Young Communist League will take place at a time when war is no longer a remote possibility but an alarming actuality. International fascism has engaged in a new foreign adventure which has as its immediate objective the colonial enslavement of Spain and its people. Nothing brings home to us more clearly the conditions of the world we live in than the Spanish war. Spain is the sharpest expression of that struggle which rages in one form or another throughout the world between the forces of democracy and those of fascism. All the more certain is it, therefore, that only the defeat of reaction and fascism can save our generation from another world slaughter and enable humanity to move forward in the direction of true democracy—socialism.

That socialism is the goal of democracy, that socialism is the highest expression of the democratic strivings of mankind, has received indisputable confirmation in the adoption of the new Soviet Constitution. For the first time society guarantees man creative labor, educational opportunities, recreation, leisure. The Soviet Constitution provides the material means through which to enjoy, what under bourgeois democracies are only formal rights, freedom of speech, press and assembly. At last the dreams of the old utopians have been realized: man stands secure and free.

Spain is not only an object lesson; to us it is a call to action. Not only the immediate future of the Spanish people, but also that of the people of the world is being decided on the battlefields of Spain. That is why in all of our pre-convention discussion we must not for a single moment forget the significance of this struggle and the words of Comrade Stalin:

"The liberation of Spain from the oppression of the fascist reactionaries is not a private affair of the Spaniards but the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind."

Democracy versus fascism is also the major issue facing the American people. This was the issue in the recent elections. On November 3 the masses of toilers declared their desire for peace, for extension of democratic rights and for economic security.

But the forces of reaction are not yet defeated. The masses old and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

young alike can only win the demands they voted for by their unity and through struggle. To the extent that they do this and to that extent alone, can they force Roosevelt to carry into life the mandate given him by the people of this country.

Already this can be seen by the events of the past weeks. The reactionary forces are striving to turn their election defeat into a victory. What, if not this, is the meaning of the sudden love displayed for Roosevelt by Hearst and the National Manufacturers Association? This is also the meaning of the much heralded "era of good feeling" and of the press campaign harping on the improved economic conditions and the returning prosperity.

ROOSEVELT RENEGING ON ELECTION PROMISES

A conspiracy is afoot to rob the American toilers of their partial election victory; to destroy their growing militancy. Roosevelt is already reneging on his election promises. Hundreds of thousands of W.P.A. employees have been laid off. If he succeeds in this first attempt, it will be a signal for a general onslaught.

Part of this attempt to bury and forget the issues voted on by the people of this country is the new approach towards the problem of the younger generation. Mr. Brown, of the National Youth Administration, has declared that the problem of transient youth no longer exists and has implied that the entire youth problem is nearing solution.

Let us examine the actual facts. Production is moving up towards the estimated "normal". But what are the differences between this and previous upturns?

First, the continued existence of mass unemployment; some 10,000,000 jobless.

Second, its limited character. Even now new factors are discernible pointing to another crash in the future.

What general conclusions can be drawn from this?

First, that the upturn in production has not and will not solve the basic problems confronting the younger generation. While it is true that a number of young workers have been drawn into industry during past months, mass unemployment continues as a permanent social disease and the most conservative estimates point to a minimum of 4,000,000 young jobless.

Even those who are working have no guarantees of permanent employment and thus no sense of economic security. Wages for young people are extremely low, especially for Negro youth and for girls. This was dramatically expressed by the pitiful plea sent to President Roosevelt by a young girl in New Bedford who toils in a textile mill for from $4 to $6 a week.

The farm and middle class youth continue to face the dilemma of being unwanted both on the land and in the professions. In respect to the growing number of young intellectuals and professionals that present-day society cannot use, Dr. Elliott, President of Purdue University, offers to solve this problem in the following unique manner: He says: "American colleges must abandon their objective of higher education for all people." That such a proposal can be seriously considered is

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in itself a severe indictment of our present social order.

It is therefore not surprising that this country has an accumulated marriage deficit of some 750,000—that is, 750,000 who under normal conditions would have been married. Nor should we be surprised at the growth of crime among young people, a matter which has become an acute social problem.

When added to the above we consider the imminent danger of a world explosion which if not stopped will take its ghastly toll in millions of young lives, who can say that the plight of the younger generation is being solved?

VAST AWAKENING OF YOUTH

Under conditions such as these we witness a vast awakening of America's younger generation. Young people, whether in Y's, Settlement Houses, or church youth organizations; whether Catholic, Protestant or Jewish; whether white or Negro; want to know what the future holds in store for them, want to know how to achieve peace, security and opportunity. And while they have many differences of opinion, they are united in the view that these can only be achieved through democracy. This in itself is a factor of greatest importance making possible the unification of the broadest masses of youth for common action in the solution of their common problems.

We are proud of the fact that our Young Communist League has become an integral part of America's younger generation; has linked itself up closely with the many youth organizations of our country and shares with them their ideals and aspirations for democracy, peace, security and opportunity. We are especially proud of the fact that with our help America's youth are finding the path toward unity as expressed in the student peace strikes; in the movement in behalf of the American Youth Act; in the struggle for the rights of the Negro youth and in the splendid response and activity in behalf of democratic Spain.

Aware of the great program made by our League in helping to cement the unity of America's youth; at the same time we realize how small it is in comparison to the tremendous problems facing our generations and the masses of toilers. It is in light of these greater problems that we wish to discuss the policies and tasks of our League in preparation for our Eighth National Convention.

I. Youth in Industry Faces New Problems

The first series of questions I wish to discuss flows from the changed economic conditions in the country, the formation and development of the Committee for Industrial Organization and the special youth problems that have arisen.

During the period of the economic crisis and depression the vast majority of young people were outside of industry, especially the basic mass production industries. Today, this is changed. While unemployment is still widespread, large numbers of young people are engaged in industry, especially heavy industry such as steel and auto. This means that the problems of industrial youth are of greater importance than heretofore, in fact, of prime importance, Furthermore, today,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these problems can more easily be met because of the changes in the labor movement, particularly the formation of the C.I.O. and its extensive drive to build powerful industrial unions in the mass production industries.

Industrial youth are in the main unskilled. For this reason most of them were never organized, as the craft unions ignored their problems and made no special efforts to win them; in fact, often excluded them. Hence, the trend toward industrial unions, toward organizing the mass of the unskilled workers is of greater significance for the young people in industry than even for labor as a whole.

That is why we consider the formation of the C.I.O. a great step forward for American labor and its youth, and will support in every way possible its endeavor to organize the basic industries. We also recognize that the establishment of powerful industrial unions will be of prime importance in strengthening the entire progressive movement of the people and will be decisive in laying the foundation for a broad Farmer-Labor Party.

What does this imply concretely? It means that to the degree that youth have entered industry, to that same degree must our League enter industry; to that degree must we consider work among industrial youth as of first concern.

TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IMPROVES ATTITUDE TOWARDS YOUTH

Our League can be of great service in helping to organize the masses of industrial youth and in helping their struggles for union recognition, for higher wages and for improved conditions. Another factor which makes possible effective results in this field is the changing attitude of the general labor movement toward the young workers. Many adult trade unionists recognize for the first time that with the influx of youth in industry, with the apprenticeship schemes of the employers, and with the growth of child labor, the problem of winning the youth is one of prime importance.

An example of this trend was to be seen at the recent Tampa Convention of the A. F. of L. While this was the most reactionary gathering in the history of that organization, the convention, nevertheless, for the first time in its history, adopted a progressive stand on the question of winning young people for the trade union movement. A resolution sponsored by the American Youth Congress was unanimously adopted, concluding as follows:

> "*Resolved*, that the American Federation of Labor now in Convention assembled undertake a campaign to promulgate union consciousness among America's young people and raise among its members the slogan: 'Win your sons and daughters for the Trade Union Movement.' "

Of course, we recognize that without the industrial form of organization this slogan cannot be fully achieved. Despite that fact, however, we consider this resolution a victory for the youth and the labor movement and will do all in our power to make its slogan one that is repeated by tens of thousands of trade unionists and applied by hundreds of local unions.

Let us remember, however, that resolutions are not in the habit of automatically transforming themselves into practical activities. If this resolution is not to suffer the fate of being buried in the archives of the A. F. of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

L., it is we who must take the initiative in seeing that it is translated into practical deeds. That section of the resolution which calls for the organization of educational, recreational and athletic activities among young people can certainly be fulfilled in every local trade union if Y.C.L.'ers take the lead in seeing that this is done.

Already a number of unions have developed youth activities of an educational and recreational character with great success. We refer to the splendid experiences of the San Francisco Maritime Federation, which has established a recreational center in which some 3,000 marine workers participate daily and which has influenced the entire San Francisco labor movement in the direction of such activities. We also refer to the educational and athletic activities of the I.L.G.W.U. in New York and to the youth committees and youth affairs being organized in many of the steel regions.

STEEL INDUSTRY
OUR CONCENTRATION CENTER

Steel, which is the center of the C.I.O. drive, must become the center of our work. Whether steel is organized or not will have decisive bearing on the whole future development of the labor movement and the nation as such. At stake is not alone the issue of industrial unionism but the living and working conditions of millions of workers and their families in the mass production industries.

Our work in the steel industry has improved in the past two months, but even now barely scratches the surface. What are some of the problems we face in improving our work in the steel towns of America?

First, our League as an organization is extremely weak in the steel districts. We have tried to strengthen our forces in these districts by sending some leading comrades into them and that is why some improvement is noticeable in our work. Many more forces will have to be sent to these regions in the next weeks. But the problem cannot be solved simply by sending outside forces into these places. Why? Because these districts are made up of dozens of small steel towns and outsiders cannot so easily make contact and win the confidence of the young people. The problem of forces is first of all one of training local people.

In this respect it must be said that our concentration districts have no definite policy towards personnel. An example of this is the fact that not a single steel worker was sent by our League to the national training school. Such districts as Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit did not even submit a single candidate for this school.

When one bears in mind that these communities have few educational facilities and that the general cultural life is extremely poor, it is not hard to understand why we train forces in these regions so slowly.

In the past few weeks the question has arisen of the relationship of the Party and League forces within the mills. It is obvious that both organizations should operate closely together, as under present conditions both organizations are in a measure illegal within the plants. However, we wish to oppose definitely the conception which has arisen in some places,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the Y.C.L. should actually be abolished within the mills and that all Y.C.L.'ers should instead become members of a youth committee of the Party.

We are for joint meetings of Party and League groups; we are also for joint Party and League units where this is most practical, but we are decidedly against the liquidation of the League in the steel mills. Why? Because the League is absolutely necessary to stimulate the whole work among the youth in the community, and all our previous experiences point to the fact that where the Y.C.L. is liquidated in a short period of time all youth work is also nil.

Taking into consideration the present illegal and semi-legal existence of the Y.C.L. in the steel towns, it is necessary to advocate the building of all sorts of legal youth clubs and youth movements. These can be organized to provide social and recreational activities or around some issues such as the steel drive or the need for recreational centers. An example of how this is possible is our work in ——. Here our League has grown to 19 members and a club of about 75 young steel workers has been organized. Another example of how to get support for the steel drive is the steps being taken in the Pittsburgh region to rally the existing youth organizations into a special conference for the aid of the steel union.

With certain modification, what has been said about steel also applies to other industries such as textile and auto.

Now I wish to deal with a few new problems which have arisen since the economic upturn and the growth of the labor movement; new only in the sense that they deserve special emphasis and consideration at this time.

APPRENTICESHIP A GROWING PROBLEM

First of these is the problem of apprenticeship and vocational training. So important has this question become that the recent gathering of the National Industrial Council took this up as a special point. It found industry suffering from an acute shortage of skilled labor and proposed that the manufacturers establish a system of apprenticeship and vocational training to meet this situation. On the other hand the American Federation of Labor disputes the correctness of this finding and insists that plenty of skilled labor is still available.

It is our opinion that there are elements of truth in both reports. A shortage of skilled labor is to be found in certain branches of industry, par ticularly in machine production. This can be easily understood if one remembers that for many years whole branches of industry were completely shut down and that a new generation of workers was not given the opportunity of learning trades. Increased production especially during the past year has overnight, so to speak, increased the demand for a type of skilled labor that can only be produced over a number of years of labor and training.

Appenticeship is therefore a genuine problem even though the manufacturers, for reasons of their own, have consciously exaggerated the existing shortage of skilled labor. What are their reasons?

1. They are more than anxious to

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

get rid of all workers over forty years of age.

2. The older craftsmen instinctively wish to take advantage of the shortage in skilled labor so as to improve their lot, and in industries such as steel are in the forefront of the unionization drive.

For the above reasons the manufacturers are determined to train their own supply of skilled labor and this is already being done by the steel trust, Ford, General Motors, etc.

This situation creates a serious danger for the entire labor movement and first of all the craft unions. What should labor's position on this question be? One thing is clear. The labor movement cannot deny the need for vocational training and apprenticeship. Young people have a right to learn a trade and the labor movement should help them achieve this end. If the labor movement does not, then these young people will get their training in the scab-herding schools of the manufacturers.

We favor the calling of special labor conferences to discuss this entire problem. The New York Central Labor Union has already decided to call such a conference for that city. Similar steps should be taken in other cities. At such conferences the Y.C.L. should advocate that the labor movement officially launch a drive for a federal system of apprenticeship and vocational training to be administered first of all by the trade union movement.

THE QUESTION OF CHILD LABOR

A second question which has become acute is that of child labor. Employers have pursued the policy of hiring young people of the lower age brackets as against those who have been unemployed for any length of time. These youngsters can be hired at lower wages and are not considered as part of that "demoralized generation".

Hence the fight against child labor is not alone a battle to protect the health of children under sixteen, but also that of defending the "depression generation" which the employers wish to keep as a permanent locked-out group. This development is one of the main causes for the alarming increase of crime, especially among those young people who have been unemployed for a considerable period of time.

The Y.C.L. calls upon all youth organizations to join hands for a concerted drive to get the child labor amendment ratified in the remaining states before the end of this year. Its ratification will not in itself abolish child labor but it will be an important step in the direction of obtaining the necessary adequate congressional legislation.

CONDITIONS RIPE FOR LABOR SPORT MOVEMENT

Another problem presents itself at this moment as a result of the growing athletic activities sponsored by the trade unions and the victory of the progressive forces at the recent convention of the Amateur Athletic Union.

Mahoney, the newly elected president of the A.A.U., has declared himself in favor of developing the A.A.U. along democratic lines and wants to connect it closely to the labor movement. This situation places upon the order of the day the task of developing a powerful labor sports movement.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have favored this for many years but realized that this objective could not be achieved without the trade union movement as its mainstay. Today this is possible.

Our line for the development of a labor sports movement has nothing in common, however, with the former sectarian Labor Sports Union nor with the present Workers Sports Alliance which looks upon the A.A.U. as its opponent. Not an opposition labor sports movement, but one functioning as an integral part of the A.A.U. is our perspective. In this manner the labor sports movement can help influence and transform the A.A.U. into a broad non-fascist people's sports association.

In New York steps have already been taken by the A.A.U. and local trade unions to call a special conference and to prepare for a labor sports carnival as well as for an outdoor event next summer. Certainly similar steps can be taken in California, Western Pennsylvania and elsewhere. The I.W.O. workers' clubs, and sport teams of the Y.C.L. should also endeavor to affiliate to the A.A.U. and its leagues.

The building of a powerful labor sports movement has become an immediate task which means that practical measures are necessary to accomplish this objective.

II. THE GROWING MOVEMENT TOWARDS YOUTH UNITY AND OUR TASKS

As remarkable as has been the change that has taken place in the Amateur Athletic Union these last two years, it is only symptomatic of the general trend among the organizations of youth. Thus, the conditions working for a powerful united movement of the younger generation have increased at an accelerated pace. Youth instinctively feels more and more the need for common action in face of their common problems.

This is what gave birth to and helped extend the American Youth Congress as the most conscious expression of the desire for collaboration in the ranks of the youth. In the period since its inception the American Youth Congress has made continuous progress. Since its Third Congress, for example, the Student Christian Movement has affiliated, representing the student divisions of the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A. This means that all three divisions of the Y.W.C.A. are affiliated to the A.Y.C. nationally as well as the largest and most active national division of the Y.M.C.A.

The Youth Congress was a tremendous step forward for American youth, but it has not yet completed the task of uniting the ranks of the younger generation. We must remember that there are only some 2,000,000 young people affiliated to the Youth Congress through their respective organizations, while in the United States there are more than 20,000,000 young people from 18 to 25 years of age, the vast majority of whom consider themselves progressives—and at least stand for democracy, peace and security.

This poses the question: How are we to help broaden and deepen the growing collaboration of America's youth and their organizations? To answer this question requires an understanding of the moods, currents and trends at work among the various sections of young people and a more flexible approach to organizational forms and methods of work.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

While America's young people face common problems, they at the same time compose a heterogeneous mass in the sense that they belong to different economic classes and have different religious, cultural and national backgrounds. This factor cannot help but express itself in the movement toward unity. It means that the younger generation will not march toward united action by one single path; it will reach this goal by a number of paths, as diverse as are the conditions and interests of young people.

Proof of this already exists. Various forms of collaboration have arisen from the life of the young people themselves and in certain cases without our knowledge or aid. We all know of the existence of the Christian Youth Building a New World. This movement which unites all Protestant youth organizations on a progressive program will undoubtedly play an important part in the whole future development of the American youth movement.

Catholic youth are banded together in the Catholic Youth Movement.

Negro youth are forming local congress movements such as the one which was established in Alleghany County, Pa., and such as the Southern Negro Youth Conference to be held in Richmond, Va., on February 14.

The Jewish youth have been striving to achieve local and national collaboration in the struggle against anti-Semitism, and in a number of cities have made strides forward in this direction.

Student youth are expressing their desire for unity by the growing movement for student government and by the student peace movement which includes nearly every important national student organization.

Athletic organizations are already united by affiliation with the Amateur Athletic Union.

Thus, side by side with the Youth Congress, we definitely see the existence of various forms of collaboration. The forms dealt with above are based on specific types of organizations: athletic, student, Protestant, Catholic, Negro, Jewish, etc.

In addition to these forms, there are those that are based on special issues; such as, the United Youth Committee in Defense of Spanish Democracy or the Continuations Committee of the World Youth Congress which unites different types of organizations on the single issue of peace.

Our policy in this situation must be that of helping to develop these natural forms of collaboration and not that of trying to artificially force all of these groupings into one preconceived mold. We must see clearly that while the Youth Congress is the most important instrument to unite America's youth, it is not the only one.

It is our belief that the Youth Congress should pursue a policy of developing close fraternal cooperation among all existing national youth movements with the aim of some time in the near future coordinating these into a truly representative front of the younger generation.

If this is to be accomplished, we feel it is of great importance to broaden the program of the American Youth Congress. What is its present character? It can be summed up in one word—anti-fascist. Yet the vast majority of America's youth are not yet consciously anti-fascist. They are for

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

democracy. The narrower character of the Youth Congress program makes it more difficult to draw *all* of America's youth organizations into this movement. That is also why there are some who see a contradiction between the building of a Farmer-Labor Party youth movement with that of building the A.Y.C.

What does the above policy mean concretely for the various localities? It means that the leading comrades should place before themselves the question: How can we develop the broadest forms of youth collaboration in our state or region? If the question is placed in this manner, then the most important consideration for us will be the content and not the form. The forms will vary in accordance with the composition and characteristics of the youth of the given region. If we think along such lines and always have as our main objective the development of the widest collaboration among the youth, we will also help solve another question—the specific tasks of the Y.C.L. branch in helping to unite the ranks of the youth.

Too few branches today know what is going on in the Youth Congress and in other youth movements. Often our League below is not in a position to extend further the excellent relations we as an organization have established with the leadership of other national youth organizations. But if the starting point becomes the need for bringing all youth together for collaboration, certainly this is an objective that every branch can aim to realize in its own community. Our approach in the localities should be along this line: "We are all young people living in one community. We face common problems. Why can we not cooperate to solve these? Will not such cooperation benefit our respective memberships and the community as a whole?"

In local communities the most suitable form of collaboration has been proven to be "Youth Councils". This is also a natural form of collaboration which has developed in many small towns and communities without our cooperation or aid. Is it not possible to help organize youth councils everywhere? We believe it is. Where these already exist our task is not to build new councils but to apply for admission as a Y.C.L. to the existing ones. This policy was correctly pursued, for example, in New Britain, Conn.

On the East Side of New York such a federated community youth council was established with representatives from some ninety youth clubs, including Settlement Houses and Catholic youth groups. Such councils need not be organized on the basis of a definite program but on the principle of common collaboration. If a program is adopted it should correspond to what the young people in the given community are ready to work for. These councils should maintain connections and cooperate with the A.Y.C., although in many places formal affiliation may not be advisable at once, as the young people may desire to keep the movement solely a community one to start with.

Chicago and California have taken the lead in establishing a new city and state form of collaboration which we believe has great potentialities. A Chicago Youth Assembly was established a few weeks ago following a call issued by the Youth Congress. This assembly

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

draws in many youth groups but bases itself on no definite program. Likewise in California has the Youth Congress taken the initiative in establishing a state Youth Assembly sponsoring a state youth bill.

City or state Youth Assemblies should be organized elsewhere. In fact, this may very well become the regional form of the American Youth Congress. These can model themselves somewhat after the state legislative assemblies or the city aldermanic councils and be delegated gatherings of young people from *all* organizations and of *all* political and religious beliefs. Such assemblies or councils can interest youth in legislative affairs, can introduce special legislation in their own names and can therefore become important factors in communities, cities and states.

After all of the above, it should be clear that we as an organization desire the closest fraternal relations with all other organizations of American youth and wish to help them prosper and grow into powerful progressive organizations. As in the past, the Y.C.L. should not seek to impose its views on these organizations or their members, but should work with them on the basis of joint understanding and agreement.

Now for a few words regarding issues and demands selected and type of methods used. These should always flow from the needs of the youth themselves. They should be based on the actual level of the movement and the readiness of the youth to work for them: and for that reason they must, of course, be practical and effective.

Let us take May 30 (Memorial Day) as an example. For two consecutive years the Youth Congress has tried to draw large numbers of young people from the Y's, church youth organizations and trade unions to participate in the peace demonstrations and parades. However, in most cases no large masses were gotten to participate in these demonstrations even though the representatives of the various youth organizations voted for the demonstrations.

I do not wish to leave the impression that I am opposed to youth peace parades and demonstrations on May 30. I do strongly believe, however, that the parades and demonstrations should be organized in the name of the Y.C.L. and other youth organizations ready for such types of actions but that the Youth Congress should, for the time being at least, find more suitable forms through which to express its peace stand.

For example, would it not be possible for the coming May 30 to organize week-end outdoor peace encampments or sport and cultural festivals with the aim of attracting large numbers of young people to such gatherings? In some places the A.A.U. could be gotten to help organize the athletic events. In this way the Youth Congress could reach and activize larger numbers of young people.

This general approach must be borne in mind by those Y.C.L.'ers who are cooperating in the work for the Southern Negro Youth Conference; the first gathering of its kind to be held in this country. This conference can become a rallying center for the Negro youth of the entire Southland.

If it is to serve this purpose, the conference should select such key slo-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gans and demands as can rally the largest masses of Negro youth and can also make a first break among the liberal sections of the Southern whites. Y.C.L.'ers, who are delegates to this conference should therefore refrain from pressing for the adoption of our full program on the Negro question and should cooperate with the other delegates in finding such slogans and demands as can at this moment be most effective in building a broad Negro youth movement throughout the South.

While aiding the development of a broad movement for Negro rights both in the South and North, the Y.C.L. should more boldly and energetically come forward with its own position for full economic, social and political equality for the Negro people and should educate large numbers of young white people in this spirit.

The major issue at this time for the entire youth movement is the campaign for the adoption of the American Youth Act, which has received wider support from the organizations of youth and labor than any other proposal. This is quite natural as this bill embodies the main economic demands of young America: jobs, vocational training and educational opportunities.

Certain revisions have been made in the new draft of the bill which improve it from both the legal and practical point of view. Pressure upon Congress for its adoption is one of the best means by which to make Roosevelt live up to his election promises and can win immediate concessions for needy young people. Two immediate tasks face us in the campaign for the adoption of the youth bill: (1) To help collect at least 1,000,000 signatures to be presented to Congress; and (2) to help bring a minimum of 2,500 young people to Washington on February 19 to place their demands before President Roosevelt and Congress.

If America's youth are to be successful in their fight for the Youth Act, it is first of all necessary to stop all W.P.A. and N.Y.A. layoffs. Every attack on the relief standards of the unemployed and the youth must be defeated. For this purpose special measures should be taken to organize the N.Y.A. employees and to unite them with the W.P.A. unions and Workers Alliance for joint struggle.

WILL SUPPORT ALL PROGRESSIVE YOUTH LEGISLATION

Widespread sentiment exists at this time for a program of progressive social legislation. The victory of liberal forces in certain state legislatures and the election of a bloc of progressive congressmen place before the youth movement the task of formulating a more complete legislative youth program on both a state and national scale. While we are not prepared to do this at the moment, we do urge the calling of special conferences for this purpose. The Y.C.L. is more than ready to support every progressive measure introduced into either congress or the state legislatures. At the moment, in addition to the Youth Act, we urge support for the Fletcher-Harrison Education Appropriation Bill and the Nye-Kvale Bill which aims at eliminating compulsory R.O.T.C. from the colleges. We will also endeavor to get legislation introduced

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which will remove the army from the C.C.C. camps.

On a state scale, especially in Minnesota, Washington, California and Wisconsin, we favor the introduction of state Youth Bills. These should not, however, model themselves after the national act. They should instead aim at extending the provisions of the N.Y.A. on a state scale in the form of definite appropriations for concrete projects such as: youth centers, gymnasiums, school buildings, camps, and playgrounds. We also favor the establishment of permanent democratically composed State Youth Administrations to administer such programs. Such bills have already been drafted in a number of states.

This movement for youth legislation is the best answer and solution to the acute social problem which the growing crime wave has created. We are ready to cooperate with all organizations and agencies working to end crime but we are firmly convinced that only the abolition of poverty, only the establishment of guarantees for security can finally solve this problem.

"LEFT" PHRASES AND Y.P.S.L. LEADERSHIP HINDERS UNITY

When proposing the above practical steps and measures by which to improve the immediate lot of our generation, we realize that there are certain people in the Young Peoples Socialist League who, behind the cloak of "Left" phrases, endeavor to hinder the development of the broad youth movement. But we are proud to be different from these dogmatists who, speaking in the name of "Socialism", make more difficult the achievement of this great goal, by their refusal to take up the immediate problems facing young America, by their failure to recognize what the masses of youth are ready and able to win today. Nor will their narrow policies deter us. Our loyalty is to the masses of toilers —not to a few high-sounding phrasemongers.

Let us take the struggle for peace. Certainly at a time like this, when humanity is so close to the brink of another world war, unity of all who desire peace is a prime necessity. But the Y.P.S.L., sad to say, does not think so. As war is an inevitable product of capitalist society, there is nothing we can do about it anyway, they say. Exploitation is also an inevitable product of capitalist society, comrades of the Y.P.S.L., but who outside of the fossilized Socialist-Labor Party will say that we can do nothing about that?

Maybe it is unfair to say that the Y.P.S.L. gives no answer to this question. It does. It says: socialism will end war and when war comes we'll turn it into civil war. Socialism will also end exploitation, but who would give that as an answer to sit-in strikers in Detroit who want to improve their lot now, yes, under capitalism? And who could be so dogmatic as to fail to see that the practical fight against war and exploitation today will logically lead the masses to an understanding of the need for socialism?

The Y.C.L. believes in the unity of all peace forces because such unity can hinder and stop fascist aggression, as also the war preparations of American imperialism. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, in his speech at Buenos Aires, said the following:

"The workman at his bench, the farmer on his land, the shopkeeper by his shelves, the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clerk at his books, the laborer in factory, plantation, mine or construction camp, must realize that his work is the work of peace; that to interrupt it for ends of national or personal rapacity is to drive him toward quick death by bayonets, or to slower but not less grievous suffering through economic distress.

"In all our countries we have scholars who can demonstrate these facts; let them not be silent. Our churches have direct contact with all groups; may they remember that the peacemakers are the children of God. We have artists and poets who can distil their needed knowledge into trenchant phrase and line; they have work to do. Our great journals on both continents cover the world. Our women are awake; our youth sentient; our clubs and organizations make opinion everywhere. There is strength here available greater than that of armies. We have but to ask its aid; it will be swift to answer, not only here, but in continents beyond the seas."

We are for answering this request of Mr. Hull by building a movement for peace such as will force the administration which he represents to stop its policy of billion-dollar war budgets.

That is why the American Y.C.L. as well as the Young Communist International were represented at the World Youth Congress at Geneva and consider the outcome of that congress of great importance to the youth of the world. We are cooperating in the U.S. Continuations Committee of this congress and will do all in our power to bring together all peace movements and organizations for joint collaboration. We also welcome the recent growth of Peace Youth Councils in various communities and especially the splendid work of the National Student Peace Committee which is preparing to make the student strike this year an even mightier demonstration than those held heretofore.

THE ISSUE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

While completely rejecting the negative policy of the Y.P.S.L. toward the peace issue, we want to say a critical word in regard to those Socialists who take a positive position toward the peace movement, but who are somewhat confused over the question of collective security. These comrades say: We are for collective security in principle, but we are opposed to it for the United States under any other conditions but that of a Farmer-Labor government.

In the present world situation the danger of war comes first of all from the fascist powers. These are the main aggressors. Everything that can be done to stop these fascist aggressors will help maintain peace. Especially is this so because of the growth of the Soviet Union into a world power working unceasingly for world peace. Therefore the principle of collective security which calls for collective action against all aggressors is a conception we agree with. This holds true for the United States as well, despite the fact that for generations the masses have been fed with isolationist illusions. The slogan "Keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world" expresses the unity which exists between the struggle to keep America out of war and the fight for peace throughout the world.

But these Socialist comrades say: We have no confidence in the present government of the United States; therefore we cannot trust it and have no guarantees that it will apply the principle of collective security. This is correct, but what is the conclusion? Not to demand America's cooperation

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for world peace? No, this would be wholly false. The logical answer is: let us build so powerful a mass movement as will make impossible the negating of the will of the masses on the part of the Administration.

To this, these Socialist comrades reply: but the masses of people will not understand this and will increase their reliance and dependence upon the government instead of upon their own organized strength.

Let us think over the argument of this position. Why does not the same principle apply to internal policies, say the question of social legislation? After all, do we have confidence in our present government on this matter? Of course not. We know that progressive social legislation will only be won by the organized pressure of the masses. On this question as well there may be a danger of reliance on the government but we are inclined toward the opposite view that the more we press for progressive legislation on internal as well as foreign affairs, the more of a militant mass movement we shall have fighting the reactionary policies of the government and the closer we shall approach the establishment of the Farmer-Labor government that these comrades and we both desire.

ROOSEVELT'S POLICY TOWARDS SPAIN

The practical result of the failure to force the government to become a positive force working for world peace is to be seen on the question of Spain. Under the cloak of so-called "neutrality", Roosevelt has established an embargo against the republican government of Spain. Whom does this aid, if not the fascist powers? Germany and Italy continue to pour troops and supplies into Franco's armies, while the government of the United States discriminates against a friendly peaceful power, making it impossible for that government to purchase supplies in this country.

America's youth who stand for peace and democracy must demand from the Roosevelt Administration the lifting of the embargo against the government of Spain; must insist that the foreign policies of this country be directed against the fascist aggressors and not against the legitimate democratic government of the Spanish people.

This is of tremendous importance if war and fascism are to be defeated on a world scale and in our country. If fascism wins in Spain, world war is inevitable and reaction will continue to grow throughout the world, including the United States. If Spanish democracy wins this will mark the opening of a new offensive of the toilers and will be the greatest setback to the forces of fascism throughout the world.

It is for this reason that we must completely reject the policy of the leadership of the Y.P.S.L. toward Spain. The Y.P.S.L. refuses to recognize the struggle in Spain as one between democracy and fascism. It wishes to narrow the issue to that of socialism versus fascism. Whom does such a policy aid? Is it accidental that Hearst and the reactionaries throughout the world also endeavor to make the issue one of "communism"? The reactionaries know that the American people stand for democracy but not yet for socialism or communism. Therefore, by making the issue "communism" they hope to divide the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ranks of the toilers and paralyze the movement for the support of the Spanish people.

TROTSKYISTS ENDEAVOR TO KNIFE SPANISH PEOPLE

But if we must reject the sectarian policy of the Y.P.S.L. on the Spanish struggle, we must organize merciless warfare against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists in the Y.P.S.L. who are doing their best to knife the Spanish masses in the back. The Trotskyist Erber puts forth the counter-revolutionary slogan: "War at the front and revolution at the rear." How Left this slogan sounds! But is it not the very thing Franco would like? Is not the call for revolution in the rear in a period of civil war tantamount to preparing the Fifth Column within Madrid that Franco boasts about? And that is its purpose. Once again we see an example of how Trotskyist "Left" phrases are used to cover up counter-revolutionary deeds. Is it any wonder that the Trotskyists have been ousted from the Catalonian government and that the Spanish masses are treating them like the scum that they are?

Honest young Socialists throughout the country are beginning to fight against the counter-revolutionary poison within their ranks. We must help them in this inner struggle, as the existence of their organization itself is at stake.

The enthusiastic response of the youth to the campaign for aid to Spanish democracy is an indication of the fact that large masses of youth understand the significance of the Spanish war. The defense of the Spanish people is a matter of honor for America's youth and the first test of internationalism for the Young Communist League.

III. BUILDING THE Y.C.L. AND THE PERSPECTIVE FOR A FARMER-LABOR YOUTH ORGANIZATION

In this last section I am going to deal with the special problems connected with the building and broadening of the Y.C.L. and the perspectives for a united youth organization. I believe that the developments of the past months have proven conclusively the correctness of the line we worked out at our July meeting. At that time we declared that the new type of youth organization called for by the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International would in the United States grow out of the stream of the Farmer-Labor movement — the movement for independent political action.

Certain steps have been taken in this direction in the past months. In New York a youth division of the American Labor Party was established with participation of some of the most important trade union locals and youth groups. In Minnesota, the Junior Farmer-Labor Association has been moving forward, although at a snail's pace. The same is true of the Youth Section of the Washington Commonwealth Federation.

In most other states no real Farmer-Labor movements have been established and thus no corresponding youth movements. This is true of many regions where some months back there seemed to be the beginnings of budding Farmer-Labor Parties. Detroit is one such example.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thus, at this time we cannot say that any foundation has as yet been laid for a broad nationwide Farmer-Labor youth organization.

The results of the elections will undoubtedly help spur forward the independent activities of the working class, and thus also the movement for independent political action. But it would, however, be foolish to believe that a Farmer-Labor Party can be formed on a national scale overnight. The exact process toward such a party is still extremely unclear, and depends on many unknown quantities, to be determined by the level and character of the mass movement in the coming period.

Therefore, the whole situation places before us the following question: What are our immediate perspectives? Without attempting to give any final or definite answer to this question, let me indicate a few points. First, even though the tempo of development of the Labor Party movement has not been as fast as we had hoped, this in no way can change our basic analysis.

Some comrades may be impatient at the slow rate of progress toward a united organization. To these comrades we say: we cannot pursue the policy of acting in haste and repenting at leisure. It is far better to proceed at a slower pace and be sure of reaching our goal than to proceed at a rapid pace but not arrive there at all. We must not sacrifice the broad character of the Farmer-Labor youth organization by haste and impatience.

What must be done to help develop the movement for a Farmer-Labor Party among the youth?

1. It is necessary to proceed at a faster pace in building Farmer-Labor youth organizations where such parties exist in either permanent or embryonic form. This means, at the moment, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Washington and New York, and in those localities where local parties exist or will be established in the coming period, especially during the spring municipal elections.

2. It is important to develop a systematic campaign of education in the ranks of the youth for independent political action. This can best be organized around questions of social legislation. In a section of Boston, for example, around the fight for a youth center, large numbers of youth were influenced and won for the need of independent political action. This can certainly be accomplished in our work for the American Youth Act, which lends itself admirably for such use.

In developing this campaign we should definitely orientate toward winning sections of the large youth organizations. These organizations have traditionally been known as non-political and non-partisan. However, around the issues of social legislation more and more of these organizations will begin to face realistically the problem of government as a matter of vital concern to them. To hasten this process we must help give the *Champion of Youth* a mass circulation, as through this magazine we can win youth for independent political action.

3. In this stage of the Farmer-Labor movement, it is necessary to find those intermediate forms through which to develop the Farmer-Labor youth organizations. I have already dealt with the matter of social legislation as of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paramount importance. Is it not possible in certain regions to call special conferences of youth organizations on this question? I think it is.

Furthermore, in those parts of the country where progressive sentiment is accumulating within the confines of the old parties and is leading to the formation of definite groupings, we must be able to make use of such developments. This is especially so in the South. In this section of the country progressive sentiment is beginning to express itself within the Democratic Party itself. Here we can aid in the establishment of intermediate youth organizations such as Progressive Young Democrats, Modern Young Democrats, etc. We may find that such intermediate forms will play an important part in not only creating a Farmer-Labor youth organization, but in hastening the whole process of political alignment among the masses.

The second major conclusion we must draw from this situation is the need for building and broadening the Y.C.L. as the conscious force working for the unity of the youth and for the creation of the Farmer-Labor youth organization.

On this question of the building of the Y.C.L. I want to be a bit more specific. A year ago, because we thought the whole development in the country would be faster and deeper, we placed before ourselves the task of developing the united organization within a year. Later, when we tied this perspective up with that of the Farmer-Labor movement, we also believed that the election struggle would bring about strong local Labor Party movements and the embryo of a national party. This has not taken place, mainly because of the threat from the Right and the general swing of labor toward Roosevelt. Under the impact of the hopes for swift and new realignments, certain sections of the League felt that the main question was to build new groups, while others waited passively for the new organization to be created. The result of this was that in some parts of the country the League was taken wholesale into the Party. In others the tempo of recruiting declined.

In the past half year this trend has been reversed. During the election campaign especially, the recruiting into the League reached a high mark. This is first of all true of New York, where some 1,800 members were recruited during the campaign. In the rest of the country while there has been gradual improvement, there is as yet no comparison with New York.

The above is not the only reason why the League has not grown more rapidly. The others are to be found in examining the following two questions: How the League comes before the masses of young people and attracts them; and what the League gives to its members when it has recruited them.

Before we proceed to do so, it may be advisable to remind the comrades of the formulation used by Lenin to define the specific character of the Y.C.L. He said:

> "The task of the youth generally, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organizations particularly, may be expressed in one sentence: *The task is to acquire knowledge.*"

How is the Y.C.L. to acquire knowledge? Lenin answers this by saying:

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

". . . only by linking up each state of its studies, training and education with the unceasing struggle of the proletariat and the toilers against the old system of exploitation."

How should our League come before the masses of youth? Let us take the present steel campaign as an example. Is it the task of the Y.C.L. to work out the general policy of the campaign? No! It is our task to mobilize the youth for the campaign; to educate them in its spirit; to prepare them for the coming struggle and to study and analyze the lessons of the movement as a whole.

Our job is to help the labor movement in all its struggles; to come forward as an energetic defender of labor and the toilers; as an organization which educates young people, and which in every sense of the term is an organization of the people.

FRENCH Y.C.L. SHOWS THE WAY

An example from France: During the height of the strike wave there, the French Y.C.L. undertook mainly the organization of aid to the strikers. The Y.C.L. helped organize food kitchens; placed its membership at the disposal of the strike committees; raised relief; appealed to young workers to join the strike, etc. By its unselfish aid to the strikers it achieved a great name for itself in the ranks of labor. People saw the Y.C.L. not as an organization only ready to give advice, but as one giving practical aid. This is one reason why the French Y.C.L. grew in the last year from 20,000 to more than 100,000 members.

If our League only learned from our French comrades it could link itself up with the lives of the people in every community; be looked upon as a friend of the people; as a constructive force. It is not enough for the League to tell the youth to go out and fight for this or that. It is necessary that the League show the masses that it is concerned with their needs not because this provides an opportunity for "a struggle", but because we are concerned with them as people. There are many little ways that this can be done. A few days before Christmas a Y.C.L. branch in Jamaica provided an example. A group of workers who were in a sit-in strike could not provide Christmas toys for their children. The Y.C.L. went into the neighborhood, collected $30, and on Christmas morning delivered toys to the children of these workers. I can assure you an act of this kind means more than many manifestoes.

I am not proposing that the Y.C.L. should take over the function of a proletarian Santa Claus or Salvation Army. Not at all. One thing we should remember, however, is that the largest and most powerful mass organizations in this country were built up as "service" organizations. This holds for the Boy Scouts, for the Y's, for the Settlement Houses, for the 4-H clubs, etc. We should not fail to learn from their experiences. Our Y.C.L. is also a service organization; but one of a special kind. We serve the masses of toilers and their youth.

AN ORGANIZATION OF THE PEOPLE

But if we are to become an organization of the people we must really feel deeply concerning them. We are not those who believe, as does the Y.P.S.L., in the theory "The worse for the people—the better for us". The Y.C.L. must be known in every com-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munity, in every industry, in every organization, as a League dedicated to the needs of the people. Young people will respect us for what we do along these lines. In this way the League will become an organization of the people; not a Left sect that appears before the masses as being concerned with their sufferings solely to be able to prove the need for a new social order.

EDUCATING AND ENRICHING THE LIVES OF MEMBERS

How about what we give to the young people who join our ranks? After all, as slow as is our recruiting, it nevertheless results in bringing thousands of new members into our organization every year. And yet, the majority of these we do not hold. Why? Because we do not sufficiently enrich their lives. We do not sufficiently help educate them. Every young person wants to excel in something or other. He may want to be a good speaker; he may want to know aviation; he may want to know how to write—or even typewrite; he may want to study dramatics; or learn chess or how to dance. Can our organization, that wishes to enrich the life of our whole generation, ignore the problem of beginning to enrich the personal lives of those whom we reach and recruit?

In the last few months I have had occasion to meet with many comrades in branches. I witnessed a hunger for knowledge and culture. The League must satisfy this hunger. The League must become an organization that answers most of the cultural and recreational needs of the youth. And while satisfying all of these diverse needs we must first of all educate our membership in Marxist-Leninist theory.

This is not a new question. We have discussed these matters before, but too little has been done to organize our work accordingly. What are some of the problems we face in this respect?

First, we must raise this problem before the whole League and encourage the greatest initiative from below in developing these diverse forms. In many places our comrades are already working along these lines with excellent results. A number of branches in New York City have organized athletic teams, dramatic groups, choruses, classes in journalism, Marxism, art, etc.

In one or two instances the branches have become so large that they are taking steps to divide themselves into clubs dealing with these different types of activities.

But initiative from below is not enough, as experience has shown. The second prerequisite is that of attention and leadership from above. When a number of basketball teams exist in different branches it is necessary to bring them together into a league. This is a problem of leadership. If they wish to excel at the game they need instruction, and this is a problem of leadership.

When a dramatic group is first formed, it can with its own forces organize a few skits. But when it becomes interested in more serious plots and plays it needs people who can write these plays and a dramatic instructor to help produce them. This is also a problem of leadership.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This is even more true when it comes to organizing classes in Marxism.

What does all this mean? It means that the leadership of the Y.C.L. must be constructed so as to be able to give guidance along these lines. In the near future it may be just as important to have a full-time functionary in the center in charge of dramatic activities as in charge of trade union work. And let no comrade smile at this because dramatics can play no small part even in our trade union work.

Although our League has plenty of talent along these fields, this is as yet untapped. We must find this talent, because without it we will not be able to develop the specialized leadership we need. To help do so, and to encourage these forms of activity, we are organizing a national contest for the best play and will give a $100 prize as premium; furthermore we are going to organize a contest for skits and songs. We shall also encourage the organization of baseball teams and leagues this spring and will arrange for special trophies for winning teams.

We want all this talent to come to the fore, and some day we hope to so excel in these activities as to be able to compete successfully with other youth organizations, whether that be in dramatics, athletics or debating.

To make this possible we must begin by gathering around the leadership of the League specialists of one kind or another. These need not be young people but can be men and women of all ages. Teachers, professors, artists, cartoonists, athletes, writers, playwrites, journalists and professional people of all types should be drawn around the League and utilized to train the young people in and around the League.

Some comrades may fear that if we do the above we will forget the class struggle of the masses. If we work correctly these activities will only help draw youth into the struggle.

Of course, let me underline the phrase "if we work correctly", for this will not take place spontaneously. One of the best means of solving this problem is by closely linking our educational and cultural activities with our mass work. An example of how this can be done is the present basketball games for Spain being played throughout New York.

It goes without saying that all of the above cannot be mechanically applied throughout the League. A branch of eight members in Louisville, working in a small town, cannot possibly work in the same manner as an organization of some 7,000 in New York. Nor can our League in Minnesota and Washington, where the main problem is that of building the Farmer-Labor youth organizations, develop their own activities along the same line as other sections of the League. Nor can a branch in a steel town function like one in a university town. In each case we must find the most suitable type and form of activity.

This means that the membership must become the determining factor in deciding the character of the League and its activity in every sphere of work and in every section of the country. The membership must be made to feel that the organization is theirs; that they can make of it what

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

they want it to be; that they are the deciding force in determining policy and activity.

A year ago we raised the question of setting up section and city committees with elected delegates from the branches. These committees were to be the leadership. Every elected delegate would have the task of reporting back to his branch; the branch in turn could instruct its delegate, could make proposals to the section or city committee. We would like to hear from those places where such committees were established as to how they helped the functioning of the League. As far as our knowledge goes this type of leading committee has proven to be of great value.

In preparing for our convention we should permit complete freedom for experimentation with organizational forms and League structure. We face many problems along this line. Let me mention two of them.

First, the age problem. It is very difficult to get young people of working or college age to mix with young people of high school age. We tried to solve this in some cases by forming "Junior Y.C.L.'s". This did not solve the problem, as the younger-age members do not want to be considered as "Juniors". Could this problem not be solved by forming a separate high school section of the League, with separate dues payments, different requirements and tasks and a completely different educational system? I merely pose the question as one which should not be answered now, but should be thought over and experimented with up to our convention.

Second, the student problem. The student branches of the Y.C.L. face special problems and need special forms of guidance. It is often extremely difficult for them to get this through the present League structure. Would it thus be advisable to organize a general student division of the Y.C.L., something like those in other youth organizations? I also pose this question for consideration.

Many other questions pertaining to League structure and leadership are in order. I do not want to go into these here. I merely want to encourage the widest experimentation on these matters until our convention.

This whole section of my report, as you can see, comrades, is aimed at broadening our whole conception of the Y.C.L., of making the League an organization that answers the needs of the youth, that provides them with knowledge and comradeship; with responsibility, education and recreation; which offers them a life with a purpose.

The Eighth Convention of our League will take place as we celebrate our fifteenth anniversary as an organization. In the fifteen years of our existence we have made great strides forward in the direction of becoming an important factor in the lives of American youth, of becoming an organization of and for the young people of this country. We have found the path to the masses of youth and have grown in size and influence. We are certain that as a result of the widest discussion throughout the ranks of our organization and on the basis of the line presented here we will make this coming convention the most significant event in the life of the American youth movement.

Forward to our Eighth Convention!

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

BY CELESTE STRACK

I. THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN STUDENT MOVEMENT

THE growth of a mass progressive student movement in the United States has been one of the most significant developments of the social and economic crisis. At present in the United States there are roughly 6,000,000 high school students and 1,000,000 college and university students in a total youth population of some 25,000,000. Although complete universal public education clearly does not exist, education is by no means confined to the upper and middle classes. A majority of American high school students come from working class and lower middle class homes; as high as 20 per cent of college students in many institution are of working class background, the bulk of the remainder coming from middle class homes. Only in a handful of colleges do the majority of the students come from America's ruling families.

The present status of American students is the result of the whole history of American education. Universal free public education is one of the earliest demands of a democratic people; it was a central slogan of the trade union movement during the nineteenth century. Moreover, in the period of American capitalist expansion, industrialists and financiers themselves wanted to provide at least a certain minimum of mass education in order to increase the efficiency of their own economic system. Consequently, the nineteenth century witnessed a tremendous growth in public grammar and high school training. The latter part of that period and the early 1900's saw the expansion of American colleges and universities both through government grants and private endowment. Their facilities were available to a limited group, but to a less select one than is true in many European countries. In other words, the American schools have always been relatively close to the people; education in America has been considered one of our basic democratic institutions. Of course, reactionaries have made repeated efforts to utilize the educational system for their own ends, the propaganda value of our schools in the last war being the most striking example. However, there is a contradiction between the "educational" aims of the reactionaries and the broad social base of the student body. For these reasons the American student body,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in terms of size and class composition, has the potentialities of a real progressive force in American life.

Special reference must be made at this point to the position of Negro students. In the South Negro and white students are segregated in separate educational systems, Negro schools providing the most meager and inferior facilities. In the North, discrimination is rife and the number of Negro youth able to attend schools is far below that of white youth. The Negro students also face the additional problems of a suppressed people. However, because even this limited group has an opportunity to secure education and training withheld from the bulk of their peoples, the role of Negro students in the entire liberation movement is of particular importance. Their work lies not only among their fellow students, but in the community generally among all sections of the Negro people. In this respect, the importance of the Negro student movement can be compared to that of the student movement in Cuba, China, or other colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The foregoing historical factors set the stage for a mass progressive student movement in the United States; the curtain actually rose with the crisis of 1929 which precipitated the student body into a series of immediate problems demanding some sort of organized response. Students were struck from two sides; first, like all young people, they were intimately and personally affected. Parents lost jobs, received wage cuts, or faced bankruptcy. Attendance at school became increasingly difficult. Students looked out upon a dismal sea of unemployment in trades and professions. Like the rest of their generation, they faced the growing reality of war as a second mortgage on their future.

In the second place, students were affected directly as *students*. The contradictions between a sick economic order and a supposedly economic democratic, expanding educational system came to head. Schools closed down. Military training increased. As students began to question and challenge, academic freedom wore thin and broke through under reactionary pressure.

In 1929 and 1930 countless local student groups responded to the crisis about them. Social problems clubs, discussion societies, and forums began to step from theory into action. Out of these stirrings emerged a nation-wide student movement. By March, 1932, the National Student League, in which Communist students played a large role, was established as an organization to defend the immediate interests of the mass of students. The Student League for Industrial Democracy, a Socialist group, began to deal with the same problem.

From the outset, the attitude of Communists toward the student movement was essentially correct. It was based on the understanding that students, as part of society as a whole, faced immediate problems which they could organize to solve; that students could win certain immediate improvements through such action; and that through this experience, with the aid of conscious education, they would develop a more comprehensive understanding of the fundamental need for a new social order and the steps necessary to achieve it. This line was re-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flected in the actual work of the student movement: the student strike which took place at Columbia because of the expulsion of the school editor, the first student anti-war congress in December, 1932, and the anti-retrenchment demonstration of 20,000 Chicago high school students were a few of a whole series of events in which the National Student League played a leading role, frequently in cooperation with the Student League for Industrial Democracy.

Basically, the student movement of this period was that of a relatively small militant minority. It played a remarkable role in stimulating student thought and in literally shocking a slumbering student body into action. At the same time it must be acknowledged that the movement suffered from many sectarian difficulties based on its position as a minority "opposition" movement. As it emerged from its initial formative stage, the student movement faced the problem of developing a real mass movement speaking for the majority of the American student body.

II. THE FIGHT FOR UNITY AND THE ESTABLISHING OF THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

Communist students early pointed out that unity was absolutely necessary for the realization of an effective mass progressive movement. Students faced the question of unity on two fronts: (1) The need for a broad student united front linked up with the general progressive movement (which point will be discussed later) and (2) The immediate problem of unity between the two most advanced student organizations, the National Student League and Student League for Industrial Democracy, so that a focal point for all liberal forces in the school could be created, with a consequent increase in power and effectiveness.

The basic political problem involved in the latter point was the difference that existed between the approach of the N.S.L. and that of the S.L.I.D. with reference to mobilizing the student body. The emphasis of the N.S.L. was correctly upon the struggle around immediate issues. The Socialist-led S.L.I.D., however, was influenced by the Right opportunism of the Socialist leadership; it had originated as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, a group devoted primarily to armchair philosophizing and abstract debates about socialism. The S.L.I.D. likewise devoted its major work to an abstract approach to general political and economic matters. Consequently, it underemphasized and even totally neglected the struggle for immediate student demands which alone could win large masses of students and prepare them for higher political development.

Finally, because of repeated joint activity of the N.S.L. and S.L.I.D., and because of pressure from liberal students who refused to join either group because of their disunity, as well as the growing need for greater power in the schools, the S.L.I.D. went on record in favor of amalgamation, and in December, 1935, entered the unity convention which established the American Student Union.

The American Student Union based itself squarely on the immediate needs of the student body and adopted a program setting forth the right to an

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

education and to economic security, the desire of students for peace, equality, and freedom, and stated its solidarity with labor and other progressive forces. It established unity not only between Socialist and Communist students, but between these and a third bloc of previously unaffiliated liberals. It was therefore not a "vanguard" organization in the sense that it offers any ultimate solution to all problems faced by students, but rather a rallying center for the progressive forces of the American student body.

The one year's existence of the American Student Union has fully justified its founding. During that year it led a student peace strike of half a million students. It played an important part in mobilizing student support for the American Youth Act, and in winning the continuation and extension of the National Youth Administration. It has begun serious work to organize high school students. It has interested itself increasingly in all phases of student life. Its membership has grown to some twenty thousand active members.

The A.S.U. convention this December recorded these facts. It established the A.S.U. as a "going concern". And it indicated the central problem which that organization faces—that of transforming itself from a minority group, with traces of the old "opposition" attitude, into a movement that will come before the student body in the most positive and constructive manner. Today there is one unified progressive student organization. It has a program in general correct. Now we must learn how to apply that program in each individual school, how to intervene in every matter of interest to the student body, how to come before the students in the most positive manner, how to build a really broad student movement.

Let us take, for example, the problem of curriculum. Students are in school fundamentally to secure an education. Frequently they are dissatisfied with the courses offered or intolerably bored by the outworn methods employed. For some time there has been a movement in educational circles to meet these criticisms and to remodel the curriculum along progressive lines. Certainly the American Student Union has something to say about these matters. We cannot, to be sure, completely remake the curriculum, but we can effect certain genuine improvements along the lines of sex education, peace education, courses on social change, student committee on curriculum, student conferences with faculty and administration.

Or a second example—student cooperatives. In the last few years there has been a rapid growth of cooperatives in American schools—housing, eating, and book cooperatives being in the forefront. These have arisen out of attempts of students to adjust limited pocketbooks to educational needs. While the A.S.U. basically attempts to secure government assistance for students and the lowering of educational expenses, there is no reason why it should not couple such campaigns with participation in student cooperatives. Some twenty chapters have already recorded experiences in this field, with the result that students saw the A.S.U. in a much more constructive light. Moreover, there is already in existence a National Committee on Student Cooperatives with which

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

numbers of student groups are collaborating, including the Catholic Student Cooperative movement. As the result of A.S.U. work on this committee, Catholic students attended the A.S.U. session on cooperatives to extend greetings and ask for further collaboration. This one incident illustrates the importance and fertility of the field.

Activities along such lines and curriculum and cooperatives in no sense negate the other aspects of A.S.U. work—academic freedom, peace, aid to labor; rather these activities help us to win greater student support so that more effective mobilization for more militant actions can take place. They provide a constructive framework within which peace strikes. campaigns against disciplinary action, and the like are carried on.

In working out these positive perspectives, we face a serious problem in connection with the present attitude of the Young People's Socialist League. It is difficult to discuss the position of Socialist students today because of the different and even contradictory currents within the Y.P.S.L. We can make, however, the following general analysis. First, there is an appreciable group of Young Socialists whose approach to mass work, to unity, and to the other key political problems of the day is basically sound. These Socialists are building the A.S.U. as well as other broad youth movements, and are coming steadily nearer to a correct evaluation of the needs of the national and international scene. Unfortunately, however, the work of this group does not represent the position of the Y.P.S.L. as an organization. Officially, it is true, the Y.P.S.L. supports the A.S.U.; in practice, however, many of its leading members have hampered, disrupted, and even openly attacked the A.S.U. At the present time many Y.P.S.L.'ers are using talk about a "militant" organization to prevent constructive work which would actually make the A.S.U. more effective and hence more prepared for militant action when this is necessary. These developments are directly traceable to the entrance of Trotskyites into the Y.P.S.L. in the last year, and to the spread of their corroding influence since that time. The attitude of the Trotskyites and those whom they influence is very neatly put in a letter written by the Akron, Ohio, circle of the Y.P.S.L. and circulated by the district Y.P.S.L. secretary as pre-A.S.U. convention discussion:

> "Our position on the A.S.U. must be one of active opposition. We must fight at the convention for the adoption of a class struggle program and by that is meant a program which declares for the revolutionary seizure of power by the workers. This is the only 'minimum' program that revolutionary Socialists can accept. It is, of course, to be expected that the A.S.U. will refuse to accept such a program, since to do so would mean to end its perspective of being the student People's Front. . . .
>
> "But in *no* case do we recognize an A.S.U. monopoly on the student field, and in *every* case we will openly oppose the character and program of the A.S.U."

This demagogic letter is circulated under a Socialist label; its line is that of open Trotskyism. The policy advanced in it flows logically from the violent opposition of the Trotskyites to the mobilization of all the allies of the working class for the historical tasks to be accomplished. In Spain, they call for insurrection against the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

People's Front government, echoed in America by Ernest Erber, national chairman of the Y.P.S.L.—a policy which would lay the workers of Spain open to the full force of the fascists. In the United States they oppose the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party. They oppose the American Youth Congress. And in the student field, they place themselves, and are trying to place the whole Y.P.S.L. in opposition to the entire progressive student movement. What are the political consequences of such a policy? Clearly, that the "revolutionary" students are to abandon the work of winning the broad masses of students and turn these students over to the reactionary forces that would be only too glad to win their allegiance. Under Left phrases, this policy knifes not only the student movement but the interests of the working class.

The above position is not officially presented by the Y.P.S.L., but numbers of its leadership echo its sentiment, either fully or in part. Take, for example, the article written in *The Socialist Monthly* of August, 1936, by Harold Draper. This article is nothing but an attack upon the A.S.U. based on the fundamental assumption that the mass of students are a "swamp" which can never be won over for progressive action. Draper puts forward the idea that inevitably "polarization" of the student body into extreme Right and Left must occur, with the mass of students bogged down in a morass between. He does not say in so many words that the Y.P.S.L. should oppose the A.S.U. and the progressive student movement, but, in actual fact, his conclusions amount to the same thing, and in practice mean abandoning the task of winning the student body.

The fact that Trotskyite theories have found such fertile soil within the Y.P.S.L. may be traced, in a large meausure, to the opportunist policies of Socialist students at an earlier date. Three and four years ago they did not understand the need to mobilize students for mass action around their immediate needs, and underestimated the role of a mass student movement, because of a "Rightist" approach. Today we have the old wine in new bottles. Now it is served up under ultra-Left phrases and "revolutionary" slogans, but it still means abandoning the work of winning the masses of students. Without a firm grounding in Marxist-Leninist theory and a clear understanding of the immediate application of the theory in building a strong mass movement, large sections of Socialist youth inevitably careened from Right opportunism to ultra-Left sectarianism that has proved excellent material for the Trotskyites.

It is, however, very significant that the Trotskyite position was not once openly presented at the A.S.U. convention. This was not true a year ago. Moreover, the general role of the Y.P.S.L. delegates at the convention was much less negative than might have been expected. This was primarily due to three factors: (1) The clear success of the A.S.U. and growth of the whole student movement along lines that answer in life itself the incorrect line of the Trotskyites and their friends. (2) The stern lessons administered to the Y.P.S.L. in connection with its sectarian position at the American Youth Congress last summer. (3) The positive role and work of a number

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Socialist students in building the A.S.U.

The defeat of the Trotskyist line at the convention, however, is only a small gain. Today the Trotskyites are capturing post after post in the Y.P.S.L. In the period leading up to the Socialist Party convention this spring, and the Y.P.S.L. convention in the summer, a decisive struggle will take place between these elements and those Socialists who want to build a mass movement and who understand the need for unity. Communist students have an important role to play during these months. (1) We must do everything we can to work with and help those positive forces at work within the Y.P.S.L.; (2) We must redouble our efforts to build a mass student movement that in itself will demonstrate the correct political line; (3) We must concentrate more energy on exposing and ideologically crushing the counter-revolutionary line of the Trotskyites, not only with reference to the student movement, but on all important political problems. The defeat of these dangerous theories and the protection of the student movement from their corroding effects are the necessary correlative of our work in building a real mass movement.

III. A UNITED STUDENT BODY

If our basic perspective is the winning of the majority of the student body, the problem of unity must be considered not only in relation to the A.S.U. but in relation to every channel within the educational system that can be utilized to unify the student body around progressive objectives. This is not an abstract question, moreover, but is a question which the developments of the last few years have posed in concrete form, due to the following factors:

(1) The entire American student body has moved in a progressive direction. The organized student movement and the continuation of the crisis have both contributed to a certain liberalization of existing student groups—student newspapers, student body councils, local clubs, student religious groups, and even, in some schools, the traditionally conservative fraternities and sororities. This change was recently reflected in the college election poll which revealed a swing away from the Republican Party and a sharp increase in Left-wing votes. (2) The formation of the American Student Union has served in part as a rallying point for student progressive forces and also as a catalyst in speeding up the crystallization of progressive opinion. (3) The growth of progressive organization among the faculty through such channels as the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association lays a basis for broad cooperation between students and faculty and in turn stimulates the growth of student liberalism. (4) There is today a certain differentiation in the ranks of school administrators with at least a small but growing group willing to tolerate and even aid the student movement, despite reactionary pressure. (5) Reactionary groups will undoubtedly increase their efforts to build a reactionary student center, a move so far defeated, but one that makes imperative the broadest mobilization of students along progressive lines.

All of these factors demand our

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

consideration of a really unified student body that will be, in the schools, the broadest expression of the front of the young generation. It is impossible to outline fully just how this may be achieved or to blueprint the steps necessary, but it is possible to indicate on the basis of present experiences a few of the major channels of its development.

1. *The Student Peace Movement.* This was perhaps the first form of collaboration among widely varied student groups, originated chiefly in anti-R.O.T.C. campaigns. Today the desire of American students for peace is expressed in a network of local peace councils in colleges and high schools, to which many student organizations are affiliated and through which the school peace program is developed. Nationally, the growth of peace sentiment has been expressed through the United Student Peace Committee, an alliance of college organizations including the Student Christian Movement, the National Student Federation (a federation of student body councils), the Emergency Peace Campaign, the American Student Union, etc., and through the World Youth Congress in so far as high school groups are concerned. A serious problem exists, however, because the present student peace movement is too much confined to religious and the more Left-wing student organizations. In the coming months a central task of the entire peace movement is its extension in terms of really representative groups—Negro student organizations, fraternities and sororities, and athletic associations.

A second problem arises in the orientation of the student peace movement. To date because of the general isolationist sentiment, which affects the student population, plus the fact that the student movement has been largely dominated by groups which accept this sentiment—pacifist and Socialists—the movement has not been sufficiently directed toward a policy of genuine international collaboration. The unfortunate results of the "neutrality" position as revealed in the embargo on materials to the Spanish government are already being felt among large sections of the student body and give us a splendid opportunity further to break up isolationist illusions. Our policy in the coming months should be dictated by three considerations:

(1) The strongest ideological campaign for collective security as the correlative of a successful fight against American war preparations. (2) An understanding that this campaign does not dictate breaking with the mass movement, no matter how confused it may be, but on the contrary demands increased working relationships with every group that sincerely wants peace. (3) The winning of the peace movement for at least those practical steps which will turn it toward international collaboration—such as aid to Spain, protest against the government embargo on the Spanish government, affiliation to the World Youth Congress, strengthening of ties with the South American student movement. This was the line successfully employed at the A.S.U. convention; it can be applied with the necessary modifications to the whole peace movement.

2. *Student Self Government and the Organization of Education.* In this

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

field we can trace the beginnings of a potentially significant mass movement. Precisely because the American educational system is closely linked up with democratic institutions, the conduct of that system should be increasingly a matter of interest to the student body. In most schools there is some form of student government; such forms have been established during relatively recent times and have only begun to take on fundamental meaning.

The National Student Federation, founded in 1925, is a federation of student body councils of colleges, chiefly in the east and south. It originated as a liberal group, passed through a period of intense conservatism, and is now again developing as a progressive force in student life. Much more attention must be directed to the building of the N.S.F.A. and to winning it for liberal measures. Moreover, it could readily be used to develop a mass movement around all problems relating to the life of the students—curriculum changes, professionalism in athletics, cooperatives, expanding student government, disciplinary matters. It should have excellent means of drawing in athletic associations, honorary and social fraternities, and other groups. At the same time, increased attention must be given to winning local slates on student councils so that these may be a lever within the national movement.

In the high schools, similar attention must be given to the National Education Association, which promotes student government in this field. Here student self-government is closely linked up with the problem of adequate facilities, and increased budgets. The Party can be of direct assistance through its work with the Parent-Teachers Association, teachers' organizations and community groups, since without such support a high school movement cannot be developed.

Moreover, the entire organization of the educational system can become a growing concern of the student body. The dismissal of President Frank from Wisconsin University raised the problem of the relationship of faculty, students and the people to the administration of educational institutions. On the basis of this incident, the A.S.U. has already requested the Commissioner of Education to call a national conference of administrators, faculty and student groups to discuss the organization of education. It is clear that we cannot blueprint in this field, but it is equally clear that experimentation of the boldest sort should be undertaken.

3. *The Negro Student Movement.* Among Negro students, particularly in the South, the possibility of a united student body is a very immediate perspective. These students, as was indicated, face both special problems and special responsibilities in connection with the national liberation movement. In the Southern Negro Youth Congress this February, Negro students will play an important role in mobilizing the whole of Negro youth. In the student field specifically, a wave of strikes took place during the fall as a result of poor athletic equipment and inferior facilities; there is an excellent opportunity for a campaign for equalization of educational facilities that can involve not only the Negro community but large numbers of liberal white Southerners. In the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

North, there has not been sufficient attention to the problems of Negro students—including not only cases of discrimination, but the placing of courses on Negro history and culture in the curriculum, employment of Negro teachers, etc. But the A.S.U. and other student groups must pay more attention to this field if a unified student body is actually to be achieved.

4. *Students and the General Progressive Movement.* One of the channels through which the entire mass movement can be furthered is that of unity with organized labor. The student movement was launched in part by a trip of students to Harlan County, Kentucky, during the miners' strike of 1932. Today there is in the schools a broad wave of sympathy for the organizational drive in steel and other basic industries which can be utilized both to aid the labor movement and strengthen the student movement itself. In the colleges, not only the A.S.U., but sociology and economic clubs and departments as well as campus clubs can certainly participate in investigations and caravans, as well as actual aid in strikes. In the high schools, the organizational drive in industry is actually laying the basis for the formation of the A.S.U. in industrial towns where the students are the children of workers and potential workers themselves. Such collaboration on the broadest possible basis will both broaden and politically develop the student movement.

A second aspect of this problem is the relationship of the student movement to the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party. The relationship can be much broader than, for instance, mere affiliation of the A.S.U., which is not yet possible. At the present time, our job is the preparation of the student body for independent political action, through direct education and through pushing student legislative programs, for example, in cooperation with general programs of social legislation. This lays the basis for collaboration among a number of campus organizations on, say, a series of bills of interest to the students, so that the Labor Party movement on the campus may well be much broader than the A.S.U., even though the A.S.U. should eventually play an important role in it.

IV. LEADERSHIP IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

With the development of such broad perspectives for the student movement and such increasingly complex tasks, leadership becomes more than ever a decisive factor. There is first of all the problem of developing leadership that is representative of all sections of the student body, capable of interpreting the needs of each individual school, and of winning the student body for action. This is a problem of leadership, among not only Communist students, but especially among the liberals and progressives. Here we must say that the Y.C.L. on the campus generally has not taken responsibility for consciously helping to train such leadership, but has rather confined itself to developing Communist leadership. As a result, we have the complaint that A.S.U. chapters, for instance, are far too much dominated by radical students. Clearly, this is linked up with the general problem of building a mass

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

movement, but at the same time it presents the specific question of systematic leadership training, in working together with liberals, as well as in formal forms such as seminars and classes.

Secondly, there is the urgent need for more and better Communist leadership. Here, at present, the key question is that of developing the highest quality of work by all Communist students. Today we have a student Y.C.L. that has made a decisive turn to real mass work—this is its strongest point; at the same time we have a student Y.C.L. that is not sufficiently armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, and this will inevitably have a retarding effect upon the practical aspects of our work. Clarification of the student peace movement, defeat of the Trotskyites, development of independent political action, and a hundred other complex questions demand greater ideological clarity and striking power from every Communist student. Students, perhaps more than any other section of the youth, are under the constant fire of reactionary and confused liberal theory; they need the maximum training in basic theory both to meet continual ideological problems and to strengthen their mass work. This means in the coming months:

(1) Increased basic education within the student Y.C.L.—classes, discussions, and literature. (2) Extension of such education beyond Communist ranks, through open work on the campus—study circles, forums, Communist clubs, publications, etc. We have the task of interpreting to the student body the full significance of world events, and the problems inherent in a final solution of their problems. This means an increase in mass educational work. (3) The development of a conscious and collective personnel policy. This means that the leadership must give careful attention to the individual needs and possibilities of every Y.C.L.er and must assist in planning his education and development. This question should be taken up in an organized way by the national, district, and local organs of the Y.C.L. (4) Consideration of the need for and problems arising from a student section of the Y.C.L. that will be able to give more specialized attention to student problems. This matter should be thoroughly discussed in all branches and districts before the Y.C.L. convention. (5) Direct assistance from the Party in planning a higher quality of educational work among the students. Only through such methods can the quality and quantity of Communist leadership be raised to the point of coping with the tasks of the student movement today.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE YOUTH

BY JAMES C. CLARK

FOR a time it was very fashionable to speak about the "youth problem". Now, in certain circles, it is becoming equally fashionable to deny the existence of a special youth problem, or to say that it has been adequately solved.

Nevertheless, universal interest still centers on the problem of the young generation. In 1936, hundreds of magazine articles, innumerable newspaper stories, countless speeches and governmental pronouncements sang an endless chorus about the plight of youth, in this the richest country of the world.

Commenting editorially, *The American Magazine* for September, 1936, says, "No question is more widely discussed than the problem of youth. *The American Magazine* has received literally thousands of letters from people of all ages bearing on this problem, asking questions, seeking advice, offering suggestions."

Even the Rotarians began to stir. Their magazine, *The Rotarian,* for September, 1936, carries an article by Philip C. Lovejoy and Walter Panzar which poses the question:

"If you could remodel the world in accordance with your own views what changes would you make?"

"Many unemployed, out of school young people throughout the state of Iowa have recently had the opportunity to answer this question before assembled Rotarians. . . .

"'I would decrease working hours and give employment to more people,' answers a youth in Creston, Iowa, several months out of high school and without employment. . . . Others believe that the older persons in business and industry should be retired on pensions and the younger folk given an opportunity to carve out careers for themselves."

Has the economic upturn of recent months affected the young people? What old problems remain and what new ones have been created? At the Sixth World Congress, the Young Communist International showed that an entire age group, those who comprise the overwhelming majority of young people, have been placed in the category of a specially oppressed and exploited generation. Does the increase in production which we are now experiencing make necessary a change in this estimate of the Y.C.I.?

It is clear from an analysis of the conditions of youth that the problem of the generation which was "locked out" during the crisis remains, and has assumed an accentuated aspect precisely in contrast to increased production and the skyrocketing of profits. In order to present an ade-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quate program of social legislation of benefit to youth it is necessary to examine the trends among youth, particularly in view of the changes in economic conditions.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUTH

The Committee on Youth Problems of the United States Office of Education analyzed the status of youth in 1935. At that time they estimated that 8,000,000 young people between the ages of 16 and 24 were employed. In the same age group, 5,000,000 were unemployed, 4,000,000 were in attendance at school, and 3,000,000 were housewives. The Works Progress Administration estimated that the total number of young people on the relief rolls in May, 1935, was 2,877,000. Of those on relief there were 4 per cent more girls than young men; 60 per cent lived in urban areas and 40 per cent in open country or villages. In the urban areas, 29 per cent of all Negro youth were on relief and 14 per cent of all the white youth were on relief.

At the depths of the crisis Aubrey Williams said that there were between five and eight million young people between the ages of 16 and 25 who were totally unemployed. Conservative estimates for the total number of workers unemployed at this time were between fifteen and sixteen million.

In reply to a query as to the status of unemployment among young people in 1936, and the effects of increased business activity, D. L. Harley, research assistant of the American Youth Commission, stated:

"There are arguments for or against assuming that the recent increase in employment has to any considerable extent affected the employment status of young people. For this assumption there is the low cost of employing young workers and against it the tendency of employers first to hire back former employes and persons whom they have been employing part-time."

In other words, Mr. Harley is reluctant to say that there has been a considerable change in the unemployment figure for youth and where young people *have* secured jobs, there has been the tendency to hire them at wages lower than the general standard.

Mr. Harley also quotes some available statistics which illuminate the trend of employment in 1936. A survey of high school graduates taken one year after graduation from Minnesota high schools reveals the following: The percentages of unemployed in this category was 69 per cent for 1933; 60 per cent in 1934; 54 per cent in 1935 and 50 per cent in 1936. Thus we can speak of an increase in the number of young people who secure employment. But a very large percentage remains unemployed.

For schools such as Columbia and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the graduating class of 1936 reports as high as 90 per cent receiving jobs. But in the same year a survey of 1,300 students attending the evening session of Brooklyn College reveals 29 per cent totally unemployed and only two-thirds with full-time jobs.

When asked what changes have occurred in the number of unemployed youth and those on relief, Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration wrote:

"The most accurate figure for youth unemployment which the W.P.A.'s Division of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Social Research has been able to obtain indicate that between 3,750,000 and 4,250,000 young people from 16 to 25 were out of work in January, 1936."

Bearing in mind that the total number of workers employed in manufacturing and non-manufacturing industries increased about 1,000,000 in 1936; also taking into account the increase in the working population, even a minimum estimate would place the number of young people between the ages of 16 and 25 now unemployed at 4,000,000.

Due to the inadequacy of statistical material it is impossible to say very definitely whether the small re-employment in industry has been more favorable to older or to younger workers. Mr. Harley, we recall, speaks very reluctantly about a change in employment figures for young people. In a survey made for *The New York Times,* its labor editor, Louis Stark, reports that, "The unions contend that the employers . . . 'pick and choose the cream of young mechanics and are reluctant to take on the older men until they have canvassed every available young mechanic'." He says that W.P.A. reports show that industry discriminates against workers 40 years and over.

At the time when Aubrey Williams' pessimistic speeches were "in order", he very correctly stressed the permanence of the youth problem which had been created.

"I feel strongly," he said in 1935, "that society as presently organized is permanently denying all opportunities to large groups of young people. . . . Those who have been unfortunate enough to come of age during the depression will be permanently handicapped."

NEW PROBLEMS

There is the problem of those young people who have not even secured their first job. The Connecticut State Employment Service reports that 20 per cent of the entire number of young people applying for jobs have never had a permanent job. A permanent job was considered as one which lasted one month or longer.

There is the tendency on the part of many employers to hire young people graduating from school or coming of age in the period of recovery, rather than those who came of age during the depression. In a study made for *The American Magazine,* Issac F. Marcasson tells of the employment policy of one of the largest corporations in America. In 1935 this firm found it necessary to hire 200 new engineers. "Since 1930," Mr. Marcasson writes, "the colleges have been turning out block of men capable of filling these jobs. Thousands of applications from older graduates were on file. But seniority of application cut no ice. The corporation hired graduates of 1935. . . ."

Figures supplied by the Junior Division of the New York State Employment Service also bear out this situation. About 35 per cent of the 3,886 young men and women who applied for jobs in June, 1936, had no previous work experience. But over 81 per cent of those who actually got jobs through the Junior Division *had worked before.*

Another fact which shows some of the permanent disabilities created by the crisis is the present "marriage deficit". Economic conditions have always been correlated with the number

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of marriages and divorces. It is therefore not surprising to note that the crisis years witnessed an unprecedented decline in the number of marriages, particularly among young people. A recent study made by Professor Samuel A. Stouffer and Lyle M. Spencer of the University of Chicago brings to light a good deal of information on the trend of marriages during the past years.

The following table shows the total number of marriages during the last seven years and the number per year per thousand of the estimated population:

Year	*Total per year*	*Number estimated per year per 1,000*
1929	1,232,559	10.14
1930	1,126,856	9.15
1931	1,060,554	8.55
1932	981,903	7.86
1933	1,098,000	8.74
1934	1,302,000	10.28
1935	1,327,000	10.41

The provisional figures they compiled for 1935 show that it was the biggest marriage and divorce year in the decade. They also add that "reports from scattered sources for the first six months of 1936 indicate that the marriage rate may be as high as or higher than in 1935".

During the worst years of the crisis, hundreds of thousands of young people who under normal conditions would have gotten married were unable to do so. With the upturn in production there was also an increase in the number of marriages. But meanwhile the "marriage deficit" had risen to such an extent that the increase of marriage in 1935 and 1936 was far from sufficient to make much of a dent in this deficit.

Professor Stouffer and Lyle Spencer calculate the loss of marriages during the depression is as follows:

Year	*Observed Marriages* 1000s	*Calculated Marriages* 1000s *	*Deficit end of year* 1000s	*Accumulated deficit end of year* 1000s
1930	1126	1251	125	125
1931	1061	1262	201	326
1932	982	1270	288	614
1933	1098	1278	180	794
1934	1302	1287	15 (surplus)	779
1935	1327	1296	31 "	748

* If average marriage rate of 1925-1929 had prevailed.

Rising production has enabled some young people to get married. But this increase has not alleviated the conditions created by the crisis. There are in America today about three-quarters of a million young people who would have been married under the same conditions which prevailed in the 1925-1929 period, but who are today unmarried.

Again, it is interesting to note that the increase in marriages has not been uniform for the entire country. Whereas states such as New York, California, Ohio, Michigan show marked increases from 1933 to 1934 to 1935, Southern states such as Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Virginia, show a decline in the number of marriages in 1935 as compared with 1934 and a very slight increase if any, compared with 1933.

The health standards of American youth have declined as a result of the economic debacle. A rise in production has not been able to erase that black mark which shows (according to the Life Extension Institute in their examination of 100,000 young men) that over 75 per cent have some sort of health defect. *The National Education Journal* for January, 1936, states:

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"According to the U.S. Office of Education, approximately 22 per cent of the pupils now in school are suffering from physical handicaps, such as tuberculosis, undernourishment, impaired sight and hearing. . . . Of these about 1,000,000 are high school students. The tragedy is that the majority of such physical defects could be corrected or at least aided, by medical care which these students are unable to afford."

YOUTH ON THE FARMS

The youth problem which flows from the oppression and exploitation of an entire age group obviously cuts across class lines, affects farming, student and middle class youth as well as working class youth. Even before the 1929 crash, American agriculture was in a critical condition. Eugene Merritt, Senior Extension Economist of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, writes:

"In the 20 years prior to 1930, the total number of white farmers who were under 35 years of age decreased by over one-fourth. The number of share tenants showed a marked increase, the numbers of owners and cash tenants a decrease. These data seem to indicate that in these years it was increasingly difficult for a young man on the farm to get a foothold on the agricultural ladder, and that the time between steps was lengthening."

In the same study ("What Is the Opportunity for the Farm Boy") Merritt says that there are 3,000,000 more people on farms than there would be under normal conditions. In general Merritt concludes that there can be no future for the majority of young people now on the farms. No wonder that so many members of the Future Farmers of America feel a bit dubious about the name of their organization. Future farmer indeed, when the Department of Agriculture says that if the young people on the farms are to raise their standard above that of their parents, 50 per cent will have to be dependent on non-agricultural pursuits, 25 per cent will live on farms where the resources on the farm will be so small that they will have to find a part-time non-agricultural job, and only 25 per cent "will be on farms where there are resources within the farm to maintain a fairly adequate living".

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

A problem that has now become more acute than ever before is the lack of vocational training and an adequate apprenticeship system both for unemployed and employed youth. Among the many thousands of young people who have secured jobs in industry the majority have not had the opportunity to perfect their skills and training. The Connecticut survey mentioned before shows that 75 per cent of all young people who applied for jobs were untrained for any skilled profession and 40 per cent were untrained for any job at all. The actual shortage of skilled labor in a limited number of fields has been exaggerated by employers who are anxious to promote a vocational training and apprenticeship system which they can use to drive down union standards.

Recently, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins told the Council for Industrial Progress that the federal government has launched an intensive drive to relieve reported shortages in skilled labor by an "apprentice training program". Many youth who secure jobs do so in blind alley trades. They get jobs where there is little permanency attached to the employment,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

little skill is required, and there is practically no chance for advancement. The *Digest of Annual Reports of the State Boards for Vocational Education* reports:

"The need for systematic development of apprentice training is particularly urgent in the field of commercial education. In our larger cities one-sixth of the young workers between the ages of 18 and 24 are employed in distributive occupations, and at least 100,000 youth in the country as a whole are serving in the lower level positions in retail stores. Apprentice training would greatly benefit those youth."

This same report says that less than 4,000 high school students taking vocational training courses are getting the working experience necessary for effective instruction. The Michigan Council of Education criticizes the "schools with their emphasis on formal education" and inability to provide for the vocational needs of the students. Considering the vast number of untrained, unemployed youth, the lack of skill and training among those in industry, the figure of only 50,000 apprentices in the entire country (*Annual Report of the State Boards for Vocational Education*) appears in all its ludicrous inadequacy.

One of the ugliest aspects of the reemployment of young people has been the sharp increase in child labor. In the period before the crisis there were nearly 1,000,000 children 15 years and younger gainfully employed. Under the N.R.A. codes a decline in the number of child laborers was recorded, although the blight was not eliminated by the N.R.A. In street trades, agriculture and tenement house work, tens of thousands of children were employed in the N.R.A. period. But when the National Recovery Act was invalidated by the Supreme Court in May, 1935, the trend toward reduction of child labor was ended and a reverse process began. During the last seven months of 1935, the number of children 16 years and younger leaving school for work, reported to the Federal Children's Bureau, was about 12,000, or 55 per cent above the total for the twelve months of 1934.

The National Child Labor Committee has released information showing that in ten states, Washington, D.C., and 98 cities in other states, there was a 150 per cent increase in work certificates issued to 14 and 15-year-olds, in the first five months of 1936 as compared with the same period for 1935. *The American Child,* organ of the National Child Labor Committee, cites a typical case of the Kinston Shirt Company of North Carolina which employs 15-year-old girls, pay them $4.93 for two weeks steady work and then the companies' lawyer explains that it was an act of charity, enabling the children to be near their parents.

COPING WITH THE PROBLEM

The unprecedented severity of the plight of America's young generation is apparent to all. What, then, have been the official measures put forward to cope with the situation? What measures are necessary to begin to solve the problem of youth?

On June 26, 1935, the federal government for the first time in its history gave official recognition to the youth problem. President Roosevelt issued his executive order creating the National Youth Administration. This

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was without doubt a result of the independent pressure and organization of youth, especially the American Youth Congress movement. But the inadequacy of the National Youth Administration, its failure as constituted at present to come anywhere near providing jobs, vocational training and student relief have been pointed out so often, that it is hardly necessary to dwell too much on this matter. But it is ironical that in the W.P.A. report on the N.Y.A., put out Oct. 15, figures on youth served by N.Y.A. and relief obtained is prefaced by an explanation that the crisis hit the youth harder than any other group. "The impact of the depression," says the report, "was particularly hard on young people." And then we learn that at the very height of the program a total of 584,000 workers and students received N.Y.A. assistance (April, 1936), while less than 500,000 received aid most of the time.

The great majority of these were high school students, receiving between $3 and $6 a month. The rate of pay for students doing N.Y.A. work is $15 monthly. Young people on the N.Y.A. work projects received one-third the W.P.A. scales, "with the additional provision that the maximum shall be $25 a month".

The number of persons on N.Y.A. projects, Jan. to Aug., 1936, was:

Month	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*
January	15,681	9,539	6,142
February	76,688	46,531	30,137
March	165,347	99,180	66,167
April	180,353	105,229	75,124
May	174,367	97,888	76,479
June	182,477	99,823	82,654
July	179,936	96,612	83,324
August	154,241	81,918	72,323

Considering the four to five million jobless youth, it is clear that N.Y.A. did not go very far toward answering the needs of these young people.

Another agency which was supposed to have grappled with unemployment among youth presents even greater dangers. We refer to the Civilian Conservation Corps. Recently, Robert Fechner, director of the C.C.C. program, speaking in accordance with President Roosevelt's views on the matter, proposed that the C.C.C. be established as a permanent institution, "as long as there are young men eager to work, but idle through no fault of their own" and as long as there is a need for a program of reforestation and conservation.

The enrollment in the C.C.C. reached its peak of 505,782 on August 31, 1935, and the figure at present is estimated at less than 350,000. President Roosevelt favors a permanent C.C.C. But the dangers which inhere in the C.C.C. program cannot be ignored. For a full eight-hour day of arduous labor the C.C.C. boys receive $30 a month. Twenty-five dollars of this sum is deducted and sent home to their families who are on relief, and the amount is deducted from the relief allotment. Obviously, this tends to drive down wage standards in the work performed.

Most ominous is the army control of the camps, which makes them a constant source of militarization. Secretary of War Woodring wrote an article for the magazine *Liberty*, in the issue of January 9, 1934, where he let the cat out of the bag:

"In two months last spring the army recruited, equipped, and mobilized more men than we recruited in the Spanish-American

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War and we did it so quietly and efficiently that few people in the country knew what was happening. This achievement, the mobilization of over 300,000 men in more than 1,500 C.C.C. camps, was the first real test of the army's plans for war mobilization."

Now that the proposal for a permanent C.C.C. is up before the nation we must be sure that it won't be a matter this time, of "few people in the country" knowing "what was happening".

* * *

The present dismissals of workers from W.P.A. and curtailment of the National Youth Administration program are *not* the policy for which the American people voted on Nov. 3.

No amount of optimistic statements about the disappearance of the youth problem can deny the obvious fact that mass unemployment still exists among youth. The plight of the young generation has assumed new aspects as a result of the very fact that many young people have been drawn into industry. Child labor is on the increase. Such programs as the C.C.C. have been used to drive wage standards down and to militarize and regiment American youth. There is a great need for recreational and health centers throughout the country. Vocational training and an apprenticeship program are the need of the day.

Any legislative program of benefit to youth must place the American Youth Act in the very first place. It will provide vocational training and establish guarantees that there is trade union jurisdiction over such a program. It calls for an appropriation which will really meet the problem of setting up useful work projects for the unemployed youth. At the same time, any attempt to curtail the National Youth Administration must not only be opposed, but a positive program for its extension and democratization put forward. Various State Youth Acts which aim to achieve this have already been introduced in some states.

The status of federal employees for all C.C.C. men must be secured, trade union standards established in the camps and every vestige of army control removed. A consistent drive to pass the Child Labor Amendment in New York and a number of other states which have thus far balked its enactment was never more in order than now.

In the course of the development of a movement for progressive youth legislation, the young men and women of America will be drawn towards the Farmer-Labor Party movement and will help in the formation of a united youth organization bound up with such a party. Of vital importance is the task of winning the youth for the trade union movement.

Those young people who have come of age during the depression and those who are now coming of age refuse to be a "lost generation". Their organizad efforts for the passage of the American Youth Act and for similar legislation will place them on the road to security and opportunity.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HITLER AGAINST THE WORLD

BY WILHELM PIECK

WORLD public opinion has already defined its attitude to the Nuremberg Congress of the German fascists: as an extraordinary demonstration of hatred and hysteria, of a gamble on war and imperialism undisguised. Weapons brandished against the Soviet Union and against European democracy, counter-revolutionaries howling wildly and hoping to drown their own fears in the noise they make—this was the sum and substance of the Nuremberg Congress.

Why did the German fascists need such a congress as this, a congress which in form and content was so unusual as to alarm the world?

Four National-Socialist Party Congresses have been held since the beginning of the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

The first congress, convened after the fascists had taken power, was a congress of promises and expectations held out to the German people.

The second congress summed up the first "realization" of these promises—in the bloody repression of Storm Troopers who reflected the discontent in the country.

The third congress tried to make use of the results of the Saar plebiscite in order to conceal the country's growing difficulties, the famine knocking at the door of German homes.

The recent fourth congress of the National-Socialists held in Nuremberg summed up the meager results of the fascists' "Four-Year Plan". Fascism is compelled to seek a way out of its difficulties in aggression abroad.

At this congress, however, Hitler had to face an international situation that had undergone a complete change. He had declared democracy to be dead. He had thought that he would be able to subdue the democratic forces of the world without a struggle, just as he had throttled the force of democracy in Germany. He had thought that the people were powerless to repel the offensive of fascism.

But events turned out quite differently from what he had expected. The final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. not only increased the sympathy with the Soviet Union but strengthened the forces of the laboring people throughout the whole world. Throughout the world the proletariat had learned from the defeat of the German proletariat. In France, and in Spain there arose a People's Front, there developed a broad, democratic, popular movement against war and fascism. The successes of the People's Front in France, the heroic struggle of the People's Front in Spain have stirred the nations, have

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

radically affected the masses. Democracy has been infused with new energy in its fight against fascism.

Fascism, which had entertained hopes of a speedy victory, found itself face to face with a counter-attack launched by militant democracy. This new type of militant democracy was electrifying. New perspectives opened up before the masses of the people; a new wave of freedom and progress swept forward to meet the forces of reaction. Everywhere the tendency for all democratic forces to unite is gaining in strength. Not only does the world proletariat support the Spanish fighters for liberty with a unanimity never witnessed heretofore, but also the masses of the democratic lower middle class, the bourgeois democrats in every country openly show their sympathy with and admiration for Spain's embattled democracy. It is true that the forces of fascism are centered on the Spanish counter-revolution, but never has democracy stood in such serried ranks, nor have its forces been so concentrated against the universal danger of fascism. The giant land of socialism victorious has become the puissant defender of European democracy.

But the great German people is unable to take part in this creative movement. It is shut in behind prison bars and shut out from participation in the development of democracy whose language was spoken by the young Schiller, whose rhythm was sounded by Beethoven in his Eroica. The great German people, which before the days of Hitler had stood for a high culture, is today the victim of darkest reaction. The masses of the German people are in sympathy with the Popular Front in France, with those fighting in freedom's cause in Spain. Their oppression, the odious, virtually foreign yoke of rogues and vagabonds, becomes all the harder to bear.

They have been seized with a profound dissatisfaction: the growing profits of the war industry and the declining standard of living of the working people; the growing intensity of exploitation; the scarcity of foodstuffs, which is being felt more and more; the brazen corruption of the ruling circles; the deprivation of rights and the lack of liberty; the barbarity, unworthy of a civilized nation, and political and cultural isolation—all this creates in Germany a political and social tension that is growing more and more serious. This development at home and abroad is filling Hitler fascism with increasing uneasiness. And through fear, there bursts out these roars of rage; this clashing of weapons *fortissimo*. Behind the shrill whooping and invective of the fascist leaders, behind their martial demonstrations, can be sensed their increasing fear of the more and more vigorous onset of the anti-fascist movement.

This explains the rhetorical extravagances of the National-Socialist leaders in Nuremberg. For, after three and a half years of fascist rule, the burning question rises more and more imperiously in the minds of the masses: *whither has Hitler led Germany?*

The National-Socialist leaders promised the German people much, very much, What has happened to these promises?

Hitler made use of the anti-capital-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ist feelings of the masses and promised to fight against finance capital. *"The banks must be nationalized, the monopolies dissolved, the joint stock companies put under government control."* This is what is said in the "immediate program" of 1932, which outlined the measures to be taken by the future National-Socialist government. And actually? In Germany "out of 20 billion shares, no less than 18.8 billion, or 84 per cent, are owned at the present time by big business". A report in the National-Socialist *Deutsche Volkswirtschaft* bears witness to this.

"In the time of need the sacrifices should be made by the rich," declared the National-Socialist leaders at one time. And actually? The profits of capitalist financial houses have grown enormously. In 1933 the balance sheets of 2,200 joint stock companies showed profits equal to zero; by 1934, this profit had risen to 700,000,000 marks and by 1935, the corresponding figure, deliberately underestimated, was given as 1.2 billion marks. This is the direct result of the policy of exploiting labor to the uttermost.

The National-Socialist leaders promised the German workers "a fair wage". "Let's now tackle wages!" was the demagogue's slogan in May, 1935, of Ley, Labor Front leader.

What are the actual results? Even official fascist statistics, falsified and censored by Goebbels as they are, show the following:

1932	
Payroll	26,000,000,000
Deductions	14%
Nominal Income (Marks)	22,400,000,000
Total No. of Workers	12,600,000
Income Per Head (Marks)	1,775

1935	
Payroll	31,800,000,000
Deductions	20%
Nominal Income (Marks)	25,400,000,000
Total No. of Workers	16,000,000
Income Per Head (Marks)	1,590

Thus, from 1932 to 1935 the cash income per head has decreased by 185 marks. In consequence of the high cost of living, there has been an additional decrease in real wages of 4 per cent.

The wage cuts are accompanied by an incredible increase in the intensification of labor. In the first half of 1936 the output of industry was as great as during the first half of 1929, but one million fewer factory and office workers were employed, while the total wages and salaries paid were 3.8 billion marks less.

"The salvation of the German peasants for the purpose of preserving the food basis of the nation, and thus of the basis of its life," was promised by the National-Socialist leaders in their first "Four-Year Plan". The German peasant was promised "a reduction in the rate of interest by half, aid against forced sales, enormous credits, generous allotments of land for resettlement, lower taxes and fair prices".

However, reality has shown that, under National-Socialism, the expropriation of peasant lands in favor of the Junkers and rich peasants has grown considerably in extent. *The number of forced sales has increased from year to year.* According to the *Landwirtschaftliche Wochenschau,* a total of no less than 75,229 acres was forcibly transferred in 1935, as compared with 50,561 acres in 1934. The number of forced sales of peasant farms shows a still greater percentage increase (almost 50 per cent). Most of

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the forced sales were of farms under 1.3 acres in size.

At the Nuremberg Congress, Meyenberg, the leader of "Peasant Home Rule", declared

> "We will find legal possibilities for utilizing the last square meter of land, we will find ways and means of getting rid of those who are unworthy to till and own German soil."

In pursuance of this anti-peasant program a new land law is to be passed by which any farmer can be evicted from house and land on the pretext of mismanagement.

The dissatisfaction of the peasantry with the fascist "Zwangswirtschaft"* is growing in proportion to the growing burden of taxes for financing Hitler's armaments. The indebtedness of the municipalities is exceptionally great, despite the "debt adjustment" and reduction in the expenditure on social insurance. To this must be added the host of taxes collected directly from the sale of foodstuffs as, for instance, for licenses to sell milk or send livestock to the nearest market for slaughter. Special monopoly taxes have been introduced which more than double the price of fodder. The peasants have to participate in the "Winter Aid" through special taxation imposed by the Reich Food Committee. At the same time, to compensate the Junkers and rich peasants for the higher taxes and imposts, the fascists put cheap labor power at their disposal, primarily by introducing the convict-like system of labor service.

* The stringent regulation of the production and sale of agricultural products enforced by all the means at the disposal of the dictatorial fascist state.—Tr.

"German economic life is constantly on the upgrade," Hitler declared. Is this true? On what is this "upgrade" based?

Production is increasing all over the world, but Herr Hitler takes all the credit to himself for the increase in German production. True enough, industrial output has passed beyond the pre-crisis level, but this is solely due to the increased production of war supplies. On the other hand the manufacture of consumers' goods has dropped 7 per cent below its former peak, though in the meantime there has been an increase of 2,600,000 in the population and imports from abroad have been greatly curtailed. German firms turning out articles for general consumption are still working at only 55 per cent of capacity, while the home consumption of iron, in 1935, had already reached 13,900,000 tons as against 12,400,000 in 1928.

Hitler promised that his policy of "autarchy" would achieve Germany's economic independence and the welfare of her people.

But what have actually been the results of this policy?

Hitler is silent about the immense loss inflicted on Germany's economic life by his policy of "autarchy". German exports are still at a very low level in spite of dumping. Germany has no share in the slight revival in international trade. In the most important branches of export Germany is losing even her old positions. In 1935 the export of machinery shrank by 18 per cent compared with 1933, while Great Britain's exports of machinery increased by 43 per cent and those of the U.S.A. by 120 per cent.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And at home prices keep going up. In Germany the price of petrol is already four to six times as high as in the competitor countries, for the fascists impose high customs duties to make it profitable to produce oil from coal. Already each ton of low-grade ore entails large state subsidies.

Fascism's "successes" in agriculture are of the same kidney.

German agriculture, despite the catastrophic fall in the consumption of food and fodder, is entering upon the new economic year of 1936-37 almost without reserves. The government is reckoning on securing the required minimum of grain by raising grain delivery quotas. But then, according to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of August 30, 1936, there has been this year "an unbelievably small quantity" of fodder rye and fodder wheat. The chronic scarcity of forage and speculation in it have brought about a frightful decline in peasant farming.

Hitler shouts about "food scarcity" in the Soviet Union. He must, in order to outshout the crying hunger of the German masses.

The food crisis of last winter, when at one time the number of pigs on the big markets of Germany fell more than 60 per cent below normal, is by no means "transient". In August, the meat scarcity again became acute. The government once again lowered the quota of pigs for slaughter.

At the Nuremberg Congress Hitler boastfully recounted the "successes" of the National-Socialists. He claimed that life was better in Germany than in any other country in Europe. This statement was dictated by the fear that the tremendous increase in the well-being of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. would have a "demoralizing" influence on the German masses. It was dictated by the historic achievements of the working people of France as a result of the victory of the People's Front. These achievements were accomplished under economic conditions which were much less favorable than in Germany: while in France the crisis was not yet ended, under a government supported by the parties of the People's Front, wages were increased, and social insurance, the 40-hour week, and holidays with pay were introduced. In fascist Germany where business, as Hitler boasts, is booming, the standard of living is falling.

Such are the economic "successes" of German fascism.

After having been at the helm for three and a half years, Hitler declared at Nuremberg: "According to National-Socialist economic principles, it would be madness to raise wages."

"Guns are more important than butter," Goering tries to persuade the German people.

"It doesn't matter if Germany does not grow fat, as long as she is strong," preaches Darre, the Minister of Food Supply.

"I am deliberately militarizing the factories," says Dr. Ley, who poses as a labor leader.

"Formerly it was thought that knowledge was necessary to the upbringing of youth. National-Socialist society is living proof to the contrary." These words come from the mouth of Baldur von Schirach, the pederast to whom has been given the "education" of the German youth.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What is the essence of fascist economics?

It is the economics of *headlong preparation* for war. It is the economics of starvation rations. It *ignores the interests of the masses of the people.* It dooms the German people to growing privation and want. It produces among the masses a mood of despair. Fascism calculates that it will be able to exploit this prospect, that there is no way out, for the very purpose of fanning war psychology. German fascism leads the German people to war. Catastrophe follows in its wake.

At the Nuremberg Congress, Hitler boasted of the successes he had achieved in foreign policy. In actual fact, what are these "successes"?

Hitler breaks all treaties. Hitler whose entire political career is strewn with broken promises, is trying, in foreign policy, to use the methods he employs at home. After his advent to power he hastened (in his Reichstag speech on May 17, 1933) to deceive the whole world as to his real plans by juggling with "peaceful intentions". Today, the fascist leaders themselves cynically say that, from the first day they came to power, they unscrupulously built their entire policy on disregard for treaties and violation of the rules of international law.

Even Hitler's allies begin fearfully to ask themselves: to what will their alliance with Hitler finally lead them? From the day of his accession to power Hitler has been feverishly seeking allies. True to his prescription for home policy, he has been ready to promise each one of them anything and everything without keeping a single one of his promises. Today even those allies whom Hitler managed to bind more or less closely to him are beginning to have doubts as to whether they are going in the right direction. Every country linked up with Hitler is faced with the prospect of being drawn into a catastrophe, into the sanguinary consequence of Hitler's plans of world domination. As a result of the growing aggressiveness of Hitler fascism, a situation has arisen in which German fascism is always ready to go further and goes further than even its "best" allies.

Hitler's clamor for colonies has everywhere evoked the liveliest anxiety. It is a well-known fact that lately the propaganda for colonies in Germany itself has grown more and more in intensity. German cities and villages are being plastered with billboards bearing the dictum of Epp, Bavaria's Imperialist Vice-Regent, who gives as the "reasons for our national poverty" the fact that "we have too little land". The National-Socialist Party published a broadsheet entitled "We Mourn for Thee, German Africa." In this broadsheet the British are called scoundrels, and the French blackguards. Its authors are Lettow-Vorbeck, the notorious leader of the German colonial troops during the World War, and Hans Grimm, who wrote *A People Without Elbow Room.* The introduction to this pamphlet, which is being distributed in hundreds of thousands of copies, states in all seriousness: "Today the natives are continually clamoring for the return of the German rule that they loved so well."

To Hitler, colonies are not a prospect of the far distant future; he has included them in his program of immediate demands. Behind the entire

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

program of the new "Four-Year Plan", which is based on the self-sufficiency of German economy, lies the unconcealed hope of obtaining colonies. This will inevitably lead Germany to a clash with Great Britain, for whose colonial wealth Hitler is stretching out his hand.

Hitler asserted at Nuremberg that he has given the German people national liberation, equality, release from the burden of reparations payments. What Hitler trumpets as achievements, which only fascism was able to accomplish, could have been gained by peaceful agreement by any other state, by any regime.

Hitler boasts of having torn up the Versailles Treaty and restored the sovereignty of the German empire over the Rhineland and the Saar. Any democratic government would have attained the same end without the unexampled burdens and sacrifices imposed by Hitler on the German people. Does anyone really think that the France of the People's Front, who herself granted autonomy to the Syrians, would have denied the Germans their just demands? Does anyone really think that the anti-fascist movement in Europe would not, as it developed, have swept Versailles aside? Does anyone really think that a democratic Germany, tied by bonds of friendship to the Soviet Union and to France of the Peoples Front, would not peaceably have enforced its will? In the present international situation a democratic Germany would have had her way, without having conjured up around her hatred and mistrust, without embittering the peoples against her or smothering the German nation under the weight of weapons, and leading her towards a war, a war that is lost in advance.

By his policy Hitler has brought the German people, Europe and all mankind to the brink of a war catastrophe of the most frightful kind. Each step in the direction that Hitler calls the cause of national liberation was a blow struck at universal peace, was provocation on an international scale. Each step made fascist Germany still more hated by the whole world. Hitler has not given the German people national freedom and independence; by his home policy he has enslaved it and oppressed it. Instead of allowing the German people to live peacefully with its neighbors and the rest of the world, Hitler compels them to help to create a war machine which more and more openly threatens the peace of Europe and the safety and independence of the peoples.

Can the masses of the people be satisfied with such a regime and such a government?

The mouthpieces of the fascist dictatorship were compelled, more than at any previous congress of the National-Socialist Party, to be on the defensive in the face of the rumblings of discontent within the country. This cannot be dispersed by the aggressive, rude language of threats; it only serves to corroborate it. Among the German people *the dread of war, the dread of fascism's war policy, is growing*. Many who at the time of the provocative occupation of the Rhineland were still captivated by the rolling of the drums of nationalist agitation, are beginning to reflect on what this steady growth of armaments and the doubling of the period of military service means. It is far from an acci-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dent that instruction were issued *to permit no discussion* when that measure was announced.

Six hundred and seven special trains were dispatched to Nuremberg. Meanwhile queues of working class women are once again forming in the cities, in front of food shops. Hitler's blatant speeches merely mock at the worries of these women.

The oppressors of the German masses are stirring up strife against the Spanish people, who are fighting for their freedom. But in the mines of Upper Silesia and the Ruhr district, in the munition works of Central Germany, *collections are secretly being taken up for the fighters of Spain.*

Immediately before the fascist congress, part of the workers of the Oppel War Munitions Works came out on strike. The workers of the Waldenburg mining district, following the example of the workers in the Blohm & Voss dockyards last March, organized a real mass boycott of anti-Soviet meetings staged by the Nazis.

But the factory workers are not the only ones who are discontented. In 1936 the authorities imposed an average of 14,000 money fines a month on peasants for opposing the fascist "Zwangswirtschaft" system. This does not indicate enthusiasm.

Discontent is also growing among the artisans and small tradesmen, that section of the population on whom the fascist leaders at one time lavished most of their promises. The official reports of the guild masters to the Artisans' Chambers of Trade frankly express this. "We haven't a single worker who earns more than 18 marks a week; how is an artisan to live on that?" we read in a report from Silesia. "People curse because they can no longer discuss their own affairs at guild meetings. They say that they now exist for one purpose alone, and that is to pay out." This from the grand master of a butchers' guild in one of the towns of Westphalia.

At the Nuremberg fascist congress no one could speak openly of the real needs and anxieties of the German people. Not a single worker, peasant or member of the lower middle class, not a single one of the old National-Socialist rank-and-filers who once believed in "National-Socialism" was given an opportunity to voice his disappointment.

No! The Nuremberg Congress of the National-Socialists was by no means a congress of "honor" and "German glory". It was a congress of the further *suppression of the German people.* It was a congress of *national disgrace.* It was a congress of *war.* It was a congress of struggle against *European democracy and European liberty.*

Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg aimed their poison darts not only at the Soviet Union but at democracy in general. The attack was launched primarily against democracy. Hitler and Goebbels traduced the Spanish and French People's Front as undisguised Bolshevism, and Azana, the President of the Spanish republic, a democrat, as an agent of Moscow. What arouses the ire of the German fascists is the support given by Soviet Union and Communism to European democracy in its struggle against barbarous fascism. Neither in France nor Spain is there proletarian rule or Soviet power. Democracy is being renamed

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Bolshevism" solely in order to deal a harder blow at bourgeois democracy. Hitler and Rosenberg hate democracy and hate Bolshevism, which defends this democracy against them. The Communists are the most self-sacrificing and most energetic soldiers in the struggle against fascism and in defense of Spanish and French democracy, and in these countries they stand in the thick of the struggle of the masses of the people.

At this moment Spanish democracy incurs the particular hatred of the Hitlers and Rosenbergs. That is to be understood. The Spanish People's Front, which has been basely attacked by Hitler's allies, is defending not only Spanish democracy, but the whole of the European democracy. The victory of democracy in Spain would be a direct blow at National-Socialist Germany. Hitler is afraid that the triumph of democracy in Spain might arouse the suppressed forces of Germany democracy and stir them up against the fascist oppressors of the German people.

If Spanish democracy were defeated, if the young liberties of the Spanish people were to fall under the military jackboot of the Foreign Legion, of Mola and Franco, Hitler fascism would not only demand territorial concessions in the Balearic Islands and Spanish Morocco from the Spanish militarists in payment for service rendered but would force Spain, faint and *enfeebled* by the defeat of democracy, to become a vassal of Hitler Germany. Democracy strengthens the countries which Nazi imperialism seeks to devour, and enhances their power of resistance to foreign aggressors. Down with democracy in France—for democratic France, the France of the People's Front, through the anti-fascist enthusiasm of the masses, will defeat the new Schlieffen plan of the German General Staff in a new battle of the Marne. Down with democracy in Spain—for fascist Spain would be brutal and ruthless to its own people so as to be weak and tender to Hitler.

Were not Pitt and Metternich also opponents of revolutionary-democratic France? Did not the leaders of the Holy Alliance declare that they were fighting against "anarchy"? Did they not claim even then that they were fighting for "Christian civilization"? And yet in reality they were fighting to weaken France, to perpetuate the national division of Italy, to keep alive the national humiliation of the German people. And Hitler, too, stated at Nuremberg, at the session of the congress devoted to cultural problems, that "the ideological basis of all anarchy is democracy", that "no state has arisen through present-day democracy but all great empires have been destroyed by this kind of democracy"

What do people think in France, Great Britain and the United States of this cynical assertion by Hitler, which is tantamount to interference in their internal affairs? The French people know that France became great and powerful as a result of the democratic revolution of the eighteenth century, hated by Hitler as the source of all evil, and that Spain, for instance, owes its decline to "the authoritarian state-will" of its Hapsburg and Bourbon kings. The abolition of bourgeois democracy in Great Britain and the establishment of fas-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cist power there would inevitably lead to a break-up of the British Empire. Accustomed to freedom, the Dominions would also rise against Mosley's "authoritarian" knout. Hitler would like to see his bedfellows, the Doriots and the Mosleys, come to power, for he knows that in consequence France and Great Britain would be weakened, torn asunder, and therefore defenseless before Nazi imperialism.

Hitler knows what he wants for other nations: for France he wants a de la Rocque and a Doriot, for that would bring Strassburg and Metz into Hitler Germany. Degrelle would bring him Eupen-Malmedy and the Belgian Congo, Mosley would bring him Germany's former colonies in Africa and possibly also dominion over Bagdad and the oil fields of Iraq. And the abolition of democracy in Czechoslovakia, the establishment of the regime of the Czech nationalist fascism of Gayda or Stribrny would accentuate enormously the national contradictions in Czechoslovakia, would bring about the immediate collapse of that state, Bohemia and Moravia becoming Hitler's share in the loot while Horthy would have Slovakia for his booty. All this Hitler knows perfectly well and for that very reason he turns to the countries menaced by him and adjures them to come over to the side of fascism. He commends to them a policy of suicide for the greater glory of German imperialism.

In his struggle against democracy Hitler in Nuremberg assumed the role of a "philosopher of state". He proclaimed there in the grandiloquent style peculiar to half-baked scholars that "unrestricted individual liberty leads to anarchy", that "the limitation of the freedom of the individual for the benefit of the organization of a larger community leads to a state". What does Hitler mean by this? According to him where there is freedom there is no state, rather a state exists only where there is slavery. England therefore is not a state. The English conservatives ought to be thankful to Hitler for this contempt of their country. Where individual liberty is not "restricted" by the Gestapo, concentration camps and the "leader" principle, there sooner or later, according to Hitler, "anarchy" must spread and society collapse.

Democracy is the foundation of anarchy because, as Hitler and Rosenberg say, it exterminates the "innate, organic leadership of the peoples", replacing them by "a foreign, Jewish element". According to Rosenberg it follows that the degenerate, morally and mentally rotten tsarist aristocracy was the organic leadership of the Russian people, and Franco's foreign legion represents a higher "race", whose rule in Spain is claimed to be "blood-conditioned"! Race ideology only serves to give even the most rotten master caste an eternal right to rule. Formerly anti-Semitism was the "privilege" of the most backward countries; the clique which today rules that country, which once stood at the head of European culture, proclaims the pogrom spirit of tsarism as the spirit of Germany. The tsarist baron Rosenberg "ennobles" German culture with the barbarous "culture" of tsarism! What will they say in France to this Jew-baiting, in France which has always poured contempt on people who, as for instance in the famous Dreyfus

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

case, spread race hatred and anti-humanitarian sentiments?

Democracy is hateful to German fascism because it does not give it "unlimited freedom of action" to oppress the working people, because it enables the masses of the people to defend themselves against their fascist oppressor. And a state where the masses have the right to unite against the fascists is, of course, for the fascists, no state at all, but "anarchy".

That is the very reason why in Nuremberg Hitler and Goebbels in their fury inveighed not only against the states where militant anti-fascist democracy is in power, as for instance in Spain and in France of the People's Front, but also upon those states which have at their helm not governments supported by the parties of the People's Front but ordinary bourgeois-parliamentary governments. Not only the Spanish and French governments will have to reconcile themselves with Hitler's accusation made in Nuremberg that they were "Bolsheviks", but also the British government will have to swallow Hitler's reproach that it was "disintegrating Europe", that it was opening up "the surest road to retrogression", leading in the direction of "anarchy". Whether in Czechoslovakia or Great Britain, in France or Spain, everywhere democracy is the enemy of the Nuremberg incendiaries. In the two first-mentioned countries, because it does not deprive the masses of the people of the right to fight against fascism; in the latter two because it itself heads the struggle of the masses against the fascists.

It is a loathsome picture: this band of shady profiteers, maniacs and criminals, who hold power in a great country, are in possession of a great state machine, and of immense quantities of arms and ammunition, thereby one day to make an onset on peaceful mankind. Hitler, the Austrian; Rosenbery, a native of Reval whose ancestry remains obscure; Hess, who hails from Cairo; Darre from the Argentine; Goering, the sadist; Goebbels, the degenerate pavement artist; Streicher, repeatedly sentenced for offenses against children—this whole crowd is alien to the great German people, alien to its noble culture, from whose storehouse all mankind has drawn. They are a disgrace to the fair name of Germany. At the Peace Congress at Brussels where 5,000 delegates from all countries were present, fascist Germany was without a representative because Hitler's government, a government of war, metes out stern punishment to all friends of peace, whoever they be. What besides war, catastrophe, the shackles of thraldom, and physical and moral degeneracy can such a government give to the German people?

What prospects can such a government hold out to the German people? *The prospect of war and defeat.*

In 1914 Wilhelm II told the Germans: "I am leading you toward wonderful times." He led them to horrible defeat; his policy wound up with Versailles. Hitler promises the Germans a future full of splendor and magnificence; he will bring them still more frightful defeat if they do not cast off his rule in time.

Let no one in Germany deceive himself on this score: the war that Hitler wants is lost from the start. Granted that he may today still gain a diplomatic success here or there,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

may secure this or that ally, yet at the decisive moment he will feel the catastrophic isolation of Germany. No country in Europe can stand by Hitler Germany in case of war, for Hitler's triumph would spell his ally's doom. For these countries Hitler Germany is a suitable ally before war, but no state can afford to march side by side with Hitler Germany during war.

Governments whose only support is terror will find that their rear is a threat to themselves the moment war breaks out. That explains the ravings of the German fascists. The louder and the more hysterical Hitler's shrieks, the greater his actual fear. He fears not only Bolshevism. He fears democracy, he fears peace, yes, he fears war, for war unleashed conjures up the specter of defeat. He fears his own people, but also fears the disaffection of his Storm Troopers and of his own collaborators, because, for aught one knows, the candidate for his succession may already be among them. He tries to drown his lack of assurance by shouting against Bolshevism and democracy.

But normal reasoning is beyond the reach of the gentlemen steering the German ship of state; the catastrophe may therefore come at any moment. Capitalism rotting and decomposing has in its employ such hysterical creatures in order to retain its rule over the masses; it is this that gives rise to the horrible danger of war. What are the want and ruin of the people to this corrupt and pathological capitalism and its corrupted, pathological "leaders"? It is the historic task of all democratic forces, nonetheless, to frustrate this war and smother fascism with peace. European democracy must study most seriously the results of the Nuremberg Congress of the National-Socialists, must study the world situation and find the quickest way of uniting all democratic forces so as to put a straight-jacket on the raving fascist beast.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WASHINGTON STATE ELECTIONS

BY MORRIS RAPORT

TANGIBLE proof of the correctness of the Seventh World Congress decisions and the resolutions of the Ninth Convention of our Party comes from the elections in the State of Washington. These elections mark a definite advance on the road to a Farmer-Labor Party and the history of this advance illuminates the opportunities and dangers which beset its path in the United States.

During the period 1932-1934 there was an upsurge in working class militancy in the Northwest. The unemployed captured the county and city building in Seattle in 1933 and held it for three days; there were hundreds of struggles against evictions and farm foreclosures; innumerable strikes in the lumber camps, and finally the great maritime strike of 1934. In all these struggles, the politicians who came into office, through demagogic promises to the masses, exposed themselves. The workers, betrayed and disappointed, built a new organization known as the "Commonwealth Builders", which succeeded in electing some 47 members to the state legislature in Washington.

The results obtained from the legislature were small and the weakness of the movement became obvious. Most of the legislatures were Commonwealth Builders by courtesy only. They attached themselves to the Democratic Party machinery but had no means of controlling it. The politicians took the labels for election purposes and then very quickly formed more profitable alliances as soon as elected. The climax came when these legislators were maneuvered into voting for the sales tax as a means of financing the very meager unemployment relief, and 45 out of 47 of them voted for the Ott Bill which would bar the Communist Party and other progressive organizations from the ballot.

As a result of these failures, and the increased militancy on the part of labor which culminated in the lumber strike, the rank and file of the Commonwealth Builders and other organizations saw that they needed a wider mass organization. The Commonwealth Federation was formed. New elements were added from Technocrats who split off from those who refused to take part in political action; some labor unions affiliated and various progressive democratic groups joined, although most of the latter were paper organizations created by the politicians who wanted to capture the Federation.

The Communist Party was denied affiliation as were some unemployed

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organizations on the grounds that they were Communist-controlled. Red-baiting was the main stock-in-trade of most of the leaders. Nevertheless, the Communist Party supported the formation of the Federation, realizing that it was a possible basis for a real mass Farmer-Labor Party. Communist ideological influence was expressed chiefly through labor unions and it was directed to win the Federation to a position of independent political action.

The struggle for independent political action within the Federation grew, and forced the Federation to participate in the Seattle city elections. Tom Smith, the Federation candidate for mayor, ran a close third. He would have been placed in the finals had it not been for the opposition of some leaders in the Commonwealth Federation and the reactionary labor leaders in the Central Labor Council. Even more significant was the vote for the Communist candidate for the City Council. His 6,700 votes were many times greater than that carried by the previous Communist Party candidates. It was clear that many members of the Federation, particularly amongst the unemployed and organized labor, voted for the Party because of its correct work within the Commonwealth Federation.

The growing importance of the Commonwealth Federation was shown at its Convention in March, 1936, where 400 delegates were present. While the reactionary labor leaders through the State Federation of Labor ordered the unions not to participate, over 40 labor unions and four Central Labor Councils sent delegates. Some of the leaders in the Federation who tried through the Red scare to win the good graces of the conservative leaders of labor and the Democratic Party had to retract their position two days before the Convention.

In the interest of unity the Communist Party did not present itself for affiliation but re-emphasized in an open letter read at the Convention its position for independent political action by means of an all-inclusive Farmer-Labor Party. More than a third of the delegates accepted the Party's position. The confusion that existed at the Convention was very evident. Production for use, plenty for all, cooperatives, independent political action, and working within the Democratic Party, were some of the confused ideas which the Party with its clearcut position helped to clarify in this heterogeneous amalgamation.

The Convention adopted a platform which came out for struggle against war and fascism, for peace, unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and for labor and farmer legislation. The growing strength of the Federation was evident when it collected 74,000 signatures to put its Production For Use Bill on the ballot.

This young, confused and inexperienced movement was faced with a herculean task. How to answer all the burning problems in the forthcoming elections? The progressive forces under the leadership of the Party seeing reaction as the main issue decided that the Federation must participate in the September primaries and that the primaries must be utilized not only to defeat the reactionary Republican Party but the reactionaries within the Democratic Party, on the issue "Defeat reaction and defend democracy". On the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other hand the "puritans" in the Commonwealth Federation who refused to see the danger of reaction maintained that the Production for Use Bill was the only issue in the election campaign and insisted on boycotting the primaries, thus leaving the masses without any progressive leadership, which would have meant a death warrant for the Federation.

However, another Federation Convention held on July 25 and 26 decided to participate in the primaries. It proved to be a critical point in the history of the movement. The overwhelming majority accepted the analysis that the coming elections presented the issue of democracy versus reaction. They saw that the struggle for their democratic rights was necessary if they hoped to obtain any of their objectives. A split in the organization was avoided and it was decided to enter with a complete slate. John C. Stevenson, candidate for governor, was endorsed by the Federation after he had agreed to campaign on its program.

The political importance of the Commonwealth Federation was shown by the primary campaign. The issues between Stevenson, Federation candidate for governor, and the incumbant, Governor Martin, who sought re-election, broke down the traditional party lines. Martin, a conservative, closely allied with reactionary business men who used state police and militia against striking lumber workers, used every device of the Red scare. Stevenson was attacked for his Federation endorsement. He was called a Communist. Spurious handbills purporting the Communist endorsement of him were circulated all over the state. Stevenson made the fatal mistake of trying to run away from the issues. His entire strength was in the support of organized labor and the progressive policies of the Federation. But he campaigned by trying to hide this program in the hopes of winning the middle-of-the-road votes. Even so he would have won if it had not been for the splitting tactics used by the reactionaries in putting a Washington Lemke in the field—Otto Case. And almost 80 per cent of the Republicans deserted their own candidate in the primary to vote for Martin. Despite all the falsehoods, the Red scare, the state legislative candidates of the Federation were successful in the primaries. Some thirty won nominations on the Democratic Party slate. For the congressional candidates—out of a possible six, four were nominated. The lieutenant governor, state superintendent of schools, and King County commissioner—all were nominated by the Federation on the Democratic Party ticket. This success in the primaries outraged the reactionaries in both parties and they spread the slogan over the length and breadth of the United States that there are 47 states and a "Soviet Washington".

A nominating convention was held on primary day in accordance with the state election laws, if the Federation wanted to enter the final elections as a third minority party in order to fill in the defeated positions. However, their candidates were withdrawn because the Federation didn't think it feasible to run both on the Democratic Party and on independent party tickets. It would have enhanced the chances of defeating the Federation candidates on the Democratic Party

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ticket. It would have created a greater rift between the Federation and sections of organized labor, and it would have strengthened the reactionaries and the Republican Party.

At the same time the Federation made it clear that they were not responsible for the reactionary Democratic candidate for governor. The Federation wished a unified policy between the Federation and organized labor and farmers as a whole. Unfortunately the State Federation of Labor did not forward this cause. The State Federation of Labor gave a blanket endorsement of Governor Martin. This blanket endorsement by organized labor for Governor Martin was interpreted by the "puritans" headed by Cyrus Woodward, President of the Commonwealth Federation, as a sign that the Federation was betraying its aims, and he resigned from the Federation; aligned himself with a back closet party called "Farmer Labor Commonwealth Party". These renegades became the banner carrier of the so-called "Farmer Labor Party". Their main issue was Red-baiting, calling the Federation Communist-controlled. They called their organization a "Labor Party without a Communist". The split did not prove very serious since it took place from a top leadership with no mass following. It consisted largely of some Technocrat leaders, Christian Socialists, and even Silver Shirts. Nevertheless the capitalist press played up this split and accentuated the Red-baiting that these splitters tried to use as a means of frightening some of the Federation members into their arms.

The election campaign saw an intensification of the reactionary attack on the Commonwealth Federation. The Republican Party, the reactionaries in the Democratic Party, the Farmer-Labor Commonwealth, the liberal coalition, etc., all were singing the song, the "Commonwealth Federation is for Soviets, it's Communistic". The Production For Use Bill was labeled Communistic. All newspapers carried full pages of advertisements attacking the bill and the candidate who supported it. Radio flashes were paid for all over the state warning against the Communistic Production For Use Bill, and a Soviet of Washington. An article in *The Nation* on "Circus Politics in Washington State" was quoted at length to support the contentions of the Republicans that the Commonwealth Federation was Communistic, crack-brained, and corrupt. A strenuous effort was made to isolate the Washington Commonwealth Federation candidates on the Democratic ticket so the Democratic voters, confused and alarmed by the Red scare, would switch their votes to the Republican candidates.

The Democratic landslide of a two to one majority demonstrated that the voters were not confused on the issues of fascism versus democracy. They rejected Red-baiting. With the exception of the race for State Superintendent of Public Instruction, all of the Federation candidates received majorities equal to those of non-Federation candidates on the Democratic ticket. It was clear that the most intense Red-baiting campaign ever carried on in the state was rejected by the voters and that they have approved of the Communist Party's support of the Commonwealth Federation.

The State Superintendent of Public

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Instruction was a special case. Since the incumbent was a Republican who had survived the 1932 landslide, he has built up a political machine superior to that of the Republican Party of the state and had the support of both the Democrats and Republican candidates for governor. Nevertheless the Federation candidate won by a substantial majority. The 30 Federation members elected to the legislature, although a minority, constitute a powerful bloc to initiate a proper progressive legislative program. They can become a powerful weapon in defense of civil liberties and support of organized labor. Both the King County Commissioner and Superintendent of Public Instruction are of great political power. The Commonwealth Federation for the first time becomes an important factor in the state and county government.

The great problem remaining for the Commonwealth Federation is of consolidating its gains. The victory of the Federation is a living proof of the value of a People's Front. The reactionaries and the Red-baiters within the Federation were defeated. Organized labor and the farmers' state Grange have been impressed with the performance of the Federation and are increasingly looking toward the Federation as an official instrument to carry out their program. The consolidation of the gains of the election must come through independent political action and building an all-inclusive Farmer-Labor Party.

The Production For Use initiative which was defeated has fortunately served to create some political thinking on the whole Production For Use program. A clarification on this point is a vital necessity.

One of the most promising signs of the Commonwealth Federation's future is its participation in the realities of day-to-day struggles. It helped the Guild Strikers on the Hearst *Post-Intelligencer* picket line in arranging mass meetings to inform the public, in sending delegates to Governor Martin. It exposed the armed guards and the placing of secret arsenals in Seattle in the employers' preparations for the maritime strike. It has placed its radio time at the disposal of organized labor, actively participates in all struggles against war, and champions the support of the Spanish people's government. Such actions as these are convincing organized labor that the Commonwealth Federation is a political organization which serves their interests. Even the Right wing of labor is being won over.

The victory of the election campaign is an instruction to the Federation leadership rapidly to expand itself to the areas outside of Seattle, and begin to make preparations for the city elections in the spring. In Seattle, where the Federation strength is the greatest, the Federation will have to enter its own candidates and carry through independent political action. With the campaign properly carried out, and backed by labor, the Federation will be one step nearer to the reality of a Farmer-Labor Party. The result of this election proved that the people have approved the action of the Federation leadership of supporting the Chicago Conference last May for a Farmer-Labor Party. The Federation will have to be a driving force in the building of a broad, all-in-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clusive national Farmer-Labor Party.

The role of the Socialist Party in the election has been an increasingly minor one. In the first place the party was very small in numbers, and this has been aggravated by a split. The Left wing, which was the only active part of the party, was expelled after the Cleveland Convention. The Old Guard which retains control is a paper organization. It sabotaged the election campaign of Norman Thomas.

In 1932 Norman Thomas spoke in the Civic Auditorium to about 6,000. This year he spoke to about 300, amongst whom were 75 to 100 Communist Party sympathizers. In 1932 he got about 18,000 votes, this year he will probably get 15 per cent of this. McKay, the Socialist leader and candidate for governor, made an alignment with the Republican Party in the primary campaign. He viciously attacked the Democrats and the Washington Commonwealth Federation as Communists. In the final campaign he spoke with the liberal coalition which was a tool in the hands of the reactionary Republicans, who were fighting the Federation. This is the result of the false Socialist position that the issue was socialism versus capitalism. Thus it was forced to stay aloof from the Washington Commonwealth Federation and the progressive movement as a whole. Isolated from the Leftward-moving masses the party became a political nonentity. Then it moved by a logical progression into the corruption that goes along with decay and found itself playing a role of partner with the most reactionary elements of the Republican and Democratic Parties. On the other hand, the Communist Party by its correct analysis of the issues in this campaign has gained tremendously in influence over the people. The issue of democracy versus reaction was accepted by people. This is shown by the election returns.

It is true that the Communist Party did not gain any votes in the election. But as a result of the election policies and the influence of our Party, the Lemke Union Party received only 3,000 votes in our state, and the splitting "Farmer-Labor Commonwealth" candidates received an even smaller vote. The Communist Party devoted all its energy to building the Federation and defeating the reactionary forces. The Communist Party campaign has strengthened and unified the new political realignments that are taking place. The Commonwealth Federation presented the beginning of a real mass movement for independent political action which the Communist Party helped to develop as proved by its election successes. In order to prevent a serious labor split the Communist Party threw its influence in the Federation to withdrawing all Federation candidates on an independent ticket. We made clear, however, that such action was not an endorsement of Governor Martin, the reactionary Democrat. The Communist Party ran its own candidate for governor and this was a vital factor in keeping the Party's position clear. This is the difference between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Our position is to participate with the masses in the struggle against reaction and fascism, to organize, unite and lead. The position of the Socialist Party is isolation and sectarianism, which objectively work

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against the interests of the masses.

As a result of the election campaign the Communist Party in the State of Washington has broadened its influence in the labor movement. Not only is this true, but the political campaign itself was an important factor in stimulating a rapid and tremendous growth in unionization. There is a growing unity in labor which is pushing the Right wing forward by its militancy, and its victories on the path of independent political action and trade union progress. The "productionists" and the "puritans" have been defeated and their influence in the Commonwealth Federation has been eliminated. Red-baiting has been exposed. The Federation is rapidly becoming an all inclusive political movement. The Communist Party, which greatly contributed and is part of the victory of the progressive forces in the state, while not affiliated yet, is an integral part of the Commonwealth Federation.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE ROAD TO VICTORY

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

FIVE months have gone by since the outbreak of the fascist military revolt. During these five months the war has undergone a profound change. It has been transformed into a national war, into a war of organized armies, into a war in which foreign armed forces are intervening side by side with the mutineers against our people.

At the end of these five months of war all parties, all organizations are raising the question of how this war can be won. All anti-fascist forces are at present directing their thoughts towards the best way of waging this war, of mobilizing all our forces, of rapidly leading our people to victory. The Communist Party, which at every stage of the movement showed precisely what were the means of rapidly achieving the victory, will once again today point out the road to be followed in order to win the war and strengthen the lawful sovereignty of the people against which the traitor generals and the fascist criminals have risen in arms.

THE NEW CHARACTER OF THE WAR UNLEASHED AGAINST THE PEOPLE

The struggle of the lawfully constituted government against a group of traitors, a struggle which might have been rapidly ended, has been transformed into a national war, into a war for the independence of Spain, thanks to the insolent support given to the rebels by the German, Italian and Portuguese fascists. This support, given by international fascism to those who rose against the lawful government of Spain, has deepened and widened the struggle and compels us now to fight not only the Spanish rebels but the foreign fascist hangmen. Today the Spanish people is fighting not only the monarchists, the Moors, the bandits of the Foreign Legion, the gangs of fascists and Requetes armed by international fascism; today we are fighting forces of greater amplitude and graver significance. Thanks to foreign support, the rebel groups could even at the outset obtain a certain measure of success; but little by little they were destroyed by our brave loyalist troops and militiamen in glorious battles. The end of the war approached and the defeat of the mutineers seemed near when they, seeing their forces exhausted, appealed to Hitler and Mussolini to send them not only fresh war materials but armed contingents of their own military forces The German and Italian governments hearkened to the cry of distress of the traitor generals; they have already sent the first units of fascist troops to Spain and are pre-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

paring to land further contingents in our Peninsula.

A GREAT POPULAR ARMY MUST BE CREATED

In this situation, if we want to win the war, the improvised militia and the heroism our armed forces have shown in so many battles are no longer sufficient. We must transform them into a great popular army endowed with the discipline and the technical resources demanded by a war such as the war forces upon us, a war against imperialist armies well trained by their respective countries. For this purpose it is an imperative necessity to put into practice the slogan of creating a popular army with iron discipline, an army obeying orders and built on a solid foundation. This slogan was put forward by our Party from the very beginning and we must now realize it if we want to win the war quickly. We must immediately undertake the reorganization of all our armed forces by forming companies, battalions and brigades with the appertaining commanding staff. We must create a sole general staff to decide and direct operations on all fronts. We must immediately put an end to the scattering of forces, to the trade union, party and regional militias, etc., who, though in the beginning of the struggle were the form suitable for the rapid enlistment of the armed forces we had to improvise in order to defeat fascism, are no longer adequate now when we are facing not only Moors, legionnaires, Requetes and phalangists, but an organized army consisting of German, Italian and Portuguese troops. In order to defeat such an army we also must have a regular army, an army superior to that of the enemy in armaments, discipline, morale and fighting spirit.

IRON DISCIPLINE AND OBEDIENCE TO ORDERS

In the great popular army which is now in the making, we must have iron discipline, an absolute obedience to orders so that strategic and tactical action may be accomplished without discussion. This is the only way to avoid that agents provocateurs, sent into our ranks by the enemy, be enabled to disrupt our operations by orders and counter-orders; this is the only way to avoid positions being abandoned through imprudence or provocation, positions which must later be retaken at the price of enormous sacrifices.

In order to win the war it is indispensable that all acts of insubordination, sabotage or treason should be punished in summary and exemplary fashion. War is a hard business and we must wage it hardly. The same rigor we use against the enemy on the battle front must be used against his agents and spies who work in the rear or in army circles. Up to now there has been an impermissible laxity in this respect and the discipline of our army has more than once broken down in consequence.

A GENERAL PLAN OF OPERATIONS AND UNITED COMMAND

During these five months the course of events has shown us that the enemy operates according to a general plan and mobilizes his forces on the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

various fronts in conformity with this preconceived plan. The fact that some region of the national territory is more directly menaced by the enemy does not mean that if the enemy succeeds in conquering that territory he will desist from trying to conquer the entire country. On the contrary, this strategy conforms to the needs of the enemy, to imperative necessity of stimulating foreign assistance by the perspective of conquering the industrial areas and positions which would subsequently permit international fascism to plunge Europe into the inferno of war and fascist savagery.

The unity of command and operations in our army must be realized in accordance with this viewpoint. The alleged "independence" of the various regions (Catalonia, the Basque country, Asturias, the Center, the South, etc.) must disappear and the centralization of our plans of operation by one general staff enable us to make the most of our resources in arms and men.

Up to the present the great advantage of the enemy consisted precisely in the fact that they possessed such a general plan and could direct and move their forces in accordance with the directives of the one and only general staff. If we want to win the war we must do the same.

LET US MOBILIZE OUR NATIONAL RESOURCES AND MAKE BETTER USE OF THEM

It is fully proven that the national resources of the enemy are very restricted. The rebels cannot levy considerable military reserves because the young men and the working population emigrate in masses from the regions occupied by them. By employing terroristic methods they recently succeeded in rounding up a few thousand young recruits who at the bottom of their hearts are hostile to them. In the regions dominated by the fascists agricultural production is manifestly inferior to that in the loyal regions, and the German, Italian and Portuguese masters of the rebels cannot supply them with foodstuffs in sufficient quantity because they themselves lack the food necessary to feed their own peoples. The main industrial districts of the country are in the hands of the lawful government of the republic which can produce there all it needs for the war and for the normal life of the population, while the rebels for their part must import from the fascist countries all that they need in order to continue the war. While the reserves of the enemy are giving out and in order to continue the war they must have recourse to foreign troops, the lawful government in the loyalist territory disposes over tens of thousands of men ready to go to the fighting front. Hundreds of thousands who form a powerful reserve are being trained in military discipline.

Moreover, international solidarity with our people is increasing from day to day and thousands of anti-fascists are offering themselves to fight in the ranks of our army with the loyalty and courage proper to men who, following their ideological convictions and their feeling of solidarity, freely enroll themselves in the army defending democracy, liberty and peace. In the van of the international movement of solidarity with our struggle marches the Soviet Union whose

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

voice resounds with mighty authority throughout the world as the herald of world peace and national liberty. Thus the whole problem is centered around the mobilization, the organization and rational utilization of the tremendous resources which we control. This is not yet being carried out with the requisite intensity.

WE MUST HAVE COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE

In order to distribute the burdens of war uniformly among the population, it is necessary to introduce compulsory military service; it being given that it is an honor for the citizens of the republic to serve in the army of the people and all will certainly regard it as such. If this is not done, we shall sacrifice in the struggle the best elements of the people, those who should serve as cadres for the mass of combatants and the army will lack a steady commanding staff able to lead it in its battles and lead it to victory.

Compulsory military service will permit the mobilization of all human resources of the country, the control of their abilities and their utilization according to the needs of the war, both at the front and in the war industries. In order to achieve this the government must issue without delay a decree creating this great popular army based on compulsory military service.

ENSURE THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY LEADERSHIP OF THE WAR

The creation of a united command and of a uniform general staff should take into account the character of our civil war, *i.e.*, of a war of a whole nation defending itself against the aggression of the military caste of the past, supported by the most reactionary and privileged social forces, and by gangs of fascist assassins.

In creating this general staff, these posts of command in general and this uniform command, one cannot proceed as one would in the event of a "normal" war, but regard the war as a social struggle, for in order to win a war of this description the people must see in the commanders of the army the representatives of the organizations and of the parties to which it has given its confidence. In the decisive posts we must place civilians true to the cause of the people, who, in close cooperation with the military commanders loyal to the Republic and with the people, will be in a position to give the military struggle a political direction, which is the only way to inspire the soldiers of the popular army with complete confidence and obtain victory. The steps taken in this direction have up to the present been very feeble, and if we want to win the war we must remove from the posts of command those officers who have no sympathy with the cause of the people and quickly substitute for them military men or civilians who understand the justice and enthusiasm of our cause and are prepared to give their lives to ensure its victory.

We must reorganize our industries and enable them to supply everything we require at the front and in the hinterland.

The war will be won by the side which will control an industry capable of supplying the front and the hinterland with all they need. This fact is admitted by all, but there is

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

too much delay in drawing the practical conclusions. Some steps have already been taken towards the creation of a war industry. We are beginning ourselves to produce a considerable proportion of the things we require at the front. But what has been achieved up to now is only a fraction of our potential production. The great factories of Catalonia, the Basque country and the East—to quote only a few—could be rapidly converted into a large-scale war industry supplying the requirements of the front and of the reserves now in formation. But a task of such magnitude cannot be achieved unless we have a coordinated scheme capable of mobilizing the immense volume of resources represented by these factories. We must make use in this sense of all now existing initiatives in order to transform these factories into a war industry under a uniform leadership. We must put a stop to isolated requisitions of individual factories, works and other establishments. We must put a stop to the chaotic dispersion of production which leads to a situation in which everyone is producing at his own sweet will whatever he thinks most useful for the war or for the provisioning of the nearest sector of the front. In consequence of this state of affairs we find ourselves today facing a situation in which some factories have too much raw materials while others are at a standstill for the lack of them. The government must therefore decide to apply a uniform principle. The government must nationalize the key industries of the country with a view to war production and these industries must work according to a schedule established by a national coordination council which will, in cooperation with the competent minister, distribute the available raw materials and regulate production according to the requirements of the various fronts and the general development of the war.

It is impossible to continue such arbitrary autonomy which allows each trade union or each group to direct independently a factory, a workshop or a center of production, determining the activities of such a center without consideration for the other factories of the country. To produce thus is to produce chaotically and to prevent a rational distribution of raw materials, rendering impossible in consequence the necessary rational production. If we continue in this way the time will come—and in some localities has already come—when the factories must close down for lack of raw materials, while such materials lie unused in other localities, or because of the over-production of certain articles not required locally though they are lacking in other districts. The coordination council, suggested by us, would have to rationalize production and see to it that more is produced at less cost, this being the only way to avoid a serious crisis of our entire national economy. In this task of achieving increased and improved production through a more rational use of the available human and material resources, the trade unions will play a part of fundamental importance which will be even greater if, as our Party ceaselessly advocates, we achieve trade union unity by forming a united trade union center.

The need for a coordinating council of the nationalized industry shows

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up even clearer if, in coordinating the distribution of raw materials, we remember that many of these must be imported from abroad.

LET US INTENSIFY AND COORDINATE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

What we have said about industrial production can be applied to agriculture as well. Having once established the principle of the nationalization of the land and the granting of this land to agricultural laborers and poor peasants for cultivation as individuals or as a collective according to their own decisions taken in meetings called on a democratic basis, we must intensify agricultural production in order to satisfy the requirements of the front and the hinterland. But in order to satisfy these requirements we must create for agriculture as well as for industry a council of coordination, subordinate to the Minister of Agriculture, in order that agricultural production may develop, if not according to a strict schedule as in the nationalized industry, at least with the objective of producing the raw materials and foodstuffs most urgently required for the front and the hinterland. This rational regimentation of agricultural production is all the more necessary as a part of our territory is separated from the sovereignty of the republic.

Even before the civil war our production was not sufficient to supply our markets with grain, maize, etc., although all these products might be grown on our soil. If this anomaly is not to be increased even more, we must create some organization to stimulate production by worthwhile prices and to indicate which agricultural products should be cultivated in preference to others, which are the branches of production to be intensified and what should be the changes to be effected to this end in the methods of this or that district.

THE PROPERTY OF THE PEASANTS MUST BE RESPECTED

An indispensable condition of the realization of this plan is that the peasants must be guaranteed their produce. They must know that their labor will be recompensed by the purchase of their products at a fixed price. Although the Communist Party favors the collectivization of agriculture, wishes the differences between town and country to be effaced and stands for the disappearance of capitalist forms of production in favor of socialist forms in a society of free industrial and agricultural producers, the Party, basing itself on the realities of the moment and on scientific doctrines instead of chimeras or unrealizable utopias, openly declares that today, if we are to win the war, we must stimulate by every means at our command the increase of agricultural production. This is the only way to ensure that the front and hinterland get the food they need to gain the victory.

Our Party declares that it is urgently necessary to continue the campaign for the organization of the peasants in cooperative production and marketing societies in order to increase the productivity of individual effort on small holdings. At the same time the Party declares that the peasant cooperatives must be closely linked up through coordinating committees with the col-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lectivized production of the estates managed by the trade unions of agricultural laborers. But the Party also declares that this operation should be effected by persuading and attracting the peasants. The Party will resist with all the means at its command all measures tending to rob the small agricultural producer of his property on the pretext of a cooperation and collectivization imposed by force.

The experience of all wars and all revolutions shows that if a policy contrary to the interests of the peasants is pursued, the peasants cease to cooperate with the industrial proletariat and the constituted authorities and demonstrate their discontent by restricting agricultural production and satisfying only their own needs without supplying the rest of the population. This road leads only to defeat. Consequently our Party maintains that agricultural production must be stimulated by all methods. We must tell the peasants what sort of crops they should cultivate and guarantee them a fixed and worthwhile price and a market for their produce. Further, the state must guarantee the peasants and agricultural producers credits and seeds, instruments of labor, everything they need to intensify their production. This would be the best way to link up the towns with the countryside and also to win the war as quickly as possible.

The government of the People's Front and the Minister of Agriculture are already pursuing such a course, but the exigencies of the war indicate that the present procedure must be speeded up by the creation of an organizing council of agrarian economy which would be charged with regimenting agricultural production and guarantee the workers of the countryside markets, prices and credit facilities.

Republican order, revolutionary order in the Spain of peace, labor and well-being must be assured.

If we want to win the war we must see to it that republican order is maintained. To maintain republican order means to enforce respect of the legally constituted authorities on the part of all citizens in a democratic and popular system. This means that we must put a stop to the practice of formal submission to the organs of government while at the same time hampering their work or superseding them in fact through party or trade union committees or other groups which do as they please.

In a republican legality the government and the constituted authorities must dispose of means of coercion needed to enforce order and the respect of the democratic laws the people has given itself of its own will against all who transgress those laws. We must abolish the abusive practice of playing with justice instead of applying the democratic revolutionary law through organs established by law or coming into being in the course of the civil war.

THE CHARACTER OF OUR STRUGGLE MUST BE DEFINED WITH ALL CLARITY

There is no need for anyone to repudiate his principles and the aspirations of his program—a thing our Party has never done and will never do—but these aspirations must assert themselves by way of a loyal campaign of persuasion, based on the freely ex-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pressed will of the masses and not be imposed by force. The accusation sometimes brought against us that we are sacrificing the interests of the revolution in order to win the war are not only perfidious but childish. The struggle to win the war is inseparable from the development of the revolution. If we do not win the war the development of the revolution would be checked. This idea must sink down into the mind of the masses if we are not to weaken the struggle we wage to win the war. We are fighting to create a better society in which there shall be no possible repetition of such monstrous and criminal acts as this rebellion. But we must explain to all those who deceive themselves or irresponsibly attempt to make in their province or village experiments in "socialism", "libertarian communism" or any other communism, that all these experiments will collapse like a house of cards if we do not win the war, if we do not crush the traitors, if we do not annihilate the fascists, these butchers of our country, and if we do not drive from our soil the invading troops of German, Italian and Portuguese fascism.

We shall win the war only if we succeed in maintaining and consolidating the People's Front and if we respect the interests of all social groups participating in the struggle against the rebel officers and the ferocious reactionaries; if we recognize and respect the national liberty of the peoples, but yet weld them into an indestructible unity of a popular antifascist Spain; if we make the people of Morocco understand that Franco, chief of slave-drivers, is leading them by lies into slavery and death, while the victory of the Spanish People's Republic would gain for the Moroccan people their democratic liberty and bread and land for their sons.

In order to win the war we must do away with the revolutionary phrasemongering of those who want to be "more revolutionary than anyone else", with that clever quackery of the Trotskyites who talk a lot of proletarian revolution, boast with contempt for the petty bourgeoisie and scheme to sow discord among the forces who wish to march in united ranks to destroy the faster the enemies of Spain, of progress, peace and liberty.

Our Party, a consistently revolutionary party, does not play with the interests of the laboring masses but is untiringly working to unite the struggling masses. It does not want to make fruitless sacrifices, it does not want to make premature revolutionary experiments at the expense of the workers, but to forge the conditions required for the victory. And today the conditions required for a victory can be summed up in one thing: to unite all efforts toward a single objective: to win the war.

WHAT ARE THE CONDITIONS OF WINNING THE WAR?

In conclusion, what are the indispensable conditions of winning the war?

1. That a government such as the present, in which all the forces controlling the masses are represented, have complete authority and that all people and organizations respect, obey and apply the decisions taken by this government and its organs.

2. That compulsory military service

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be introduced without delay as the sole means of rapidly creating a great army of the people with an organization and a discipline guaranteeing its military efficiency.

This army must be given commanders, both civilian and military, who are faithful to the republic and to the people. The army and its commanders must be respected and their orders executed without discussion.

We must create a general staff and a united command for the armies operating on the various fronts, and concentrate in this general staff the best and ablest soldiers and the best representatives of the parties and trade union organizations who enjoy the confidence of the masses. The orders of this staff must be obeyed without discussion.

3. We must have iron discipline in the hinterland through a campaign of enlightenment as to the significance of this war. We must do away with the all too simple and very dangerous conception that the war concerns only the territories in which the actual fighting is going on and not the entire population of all regions of the country. The sacrifices and privations imposed by the war must be shared by all inhabitants and districts of loyalist Spain.

4. We must nationalize and reorganize our key industries, and in the first place our war industries in order to cope with the needs of the front and the hinterland. All trade unions, parties and all men true to the cause of the people must exert their influence to the end that we have one care only: how to produce more and in a better way in order to accelerate the victory.

5. We must create a coordinating council for industry and economy in general in which all technicians and specialists of the People's Front must be represented. This important state organ would direct production and all would have to respect and obey its decisions.

6. We must introduce workers' control in production, but the bodies charged with its application must act in agreement with the plan drawn up by the coordinating council.

7. On the countryside we must produce all that is needed for the front and the hinterland on the basis of a plan drawn up by the representatives of the peasant organizations and of the parties and organizations of the People's Front, but we must respect the product of the labor of the peasant masses, be it the result of individual or of collective effort, and we must guarantee the agricultural producers a worthwhile price for their products and a national and international market.

8. We must coordinate agricultural and industrial production and direct them towards the single object of winning the war.

Other nations must be shown that the entire Spanish people, that everything healthy and progressive in our country, are fighting to defend it from a cowardly aggression perpetrated without personal risk by Spaniards who are traitors to their country, and by the invading forces of German, Italian and Portuguese fascism, which dream of making the Spaniards a nation of slaves.

Let them know that we are fighting with determination, with all the strength right and reason can give.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But let them also know that our struggle is a struggle for democracy, peace and liberty, and that our triumph, the triumph of the Spanish people, will serve to cement peace and not to disturb it by unleashing wars, the dark schemes of the Spanish and foreign fascists.

Let them know that our government and our people respect the interests of foreign citizens who on their part respect our right to organize our life in accordance with the dictates of civilization, right and liberty.

Finally, let all this serve to fortify still more our unity among ourselves. Let those beware who through impatience or irresponsibility destroy this unity and postpone the hour of victory.

Our Party, the Communist Party, which by its organization and its constantly increasing influence is the faithful interpreter of the will of the people, declares once more that even though its real force is not sufficiently represented in the official leadership of the country, it will occupy as ever, without reserve or bargaining, the position of a vanguard in the struggle for the solution of the problem raised by the necessity of winning the war. It is certain that the militia and the loyal air, land and naval forces, that all workers and all liberty-loving and progressive men and women of Spain will close their ranks around the Party which was the smith of the People's Front, the axis of the democratic republic, and that all together, cordially welded into one and united in a single steel front, with courage and abnegation shown by our people, we shall win the war.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOK REVIEWS

SLANDERING THE PHILIPPINE PEOPLE

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES, by George A. Malcolm, New York: Appleton-Century. $5.00.

AMONG the least known countries of the Orient are the Philippine Islands. A great many of us know something of the exaggerated legend of Admiral Dewey's battle of Manila Bay, and that only recently Congress suddenly recanted its imperialistic desires and "gave" the Philippines their independence. To some, having read books like *The Monkeys Have no Tails in Zamboanga,* the Philippines are still a semi-savage and uncivilized group of islands in a romantic setting in the South Seas. Yet others, who have noted that there occurred in the islands since 1927 three peasant uprisings, a general strike in Manila in 1935 of 23,000 workers and the present organization of a Popular Front Alliance cannot fail to remark that these are but the signs of a modern nation with class differences as sharp and distinct as anywhere else in the world.

And this brings us to the utter lack of adequate books dealing with the inner situation in the Philippine Islands, or its role in the political developments in the Far East. True, books have been written and circulated in the United States by Americans like Kirk, Hayden and Nicholas Roosevelt, whose book, *The Philippines, a Treasure and a Problem,* was burned in a huge bonfire at a mammoth mass meeting by indignant Filipinos. The apologists of American rule in the Philippines can now add to their ignoble list another book, written by an American, until recently Senior Justice of the Supreme Court of the Philippines, George A. Malcolm, called the *Commonwealth of the Philippines.*

In spite of his evident contact with things Philippine, and certain anecdotes which lend added interest, the learned justice does not show us in his 500 laborious pages that thirty years' residence in the Philippines has resulted in a work necessary or important to a full understanding of this country. This is not difficult to imagine when one has witnessed generally the cloistered life of American and European colonies in the Orient. They have been well described by Lin Yutang in his *My Country and My People.*

"He may be the son of a missionary, or a captain or a pilot or a secretary in the consular service, or he may be a merchant to whom China is just a market for selling sardines and 'sunkist' oranges. He may even be very well informed within his limits, the limits of a man who cannot talk three syllables of Chinese and depends on his English-speaking Chinese friends for his supplies of information. He drinks Lipton's tea and reads the *North China Daily News* and his spirits revolts against the morning reports of banditry and kidnapping and recurrent civil wars, which spoil his breakfast for him. He has to have a car. His car is not just a car, it is a moving covered corridor that leads from his home to his office and protects him from Chinese humanity. He tells Miss Smith that a car in China is not a luxury but a necessity—that three-mile ride of an enclosed mind in an enclosed glass case from the home to the office he takes every day of his twenty-five years in China."

A Lin Yutang of the Philippines could have little more to say with regard to the American community in the Philippines, which holds itself aloof as a select, snobbish fraternity. Living off the Filipino people, they have set themselves up as a superior caste. The only Filipinos the American women come in contact with are their servants. The men see intimately only their office employees whom they mistrust because they speak Tagalog among themselves, a language Americans usually never learn.

Justice Malcolm was in the employ of the Filipino government and of necessity had to associate with the rich and influential Fili-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pinos. Although coming in contact with more Filipinos than most Americans ever dream of, he has failed to gain understanding thereby.

As a rule, problems in the book are discussed either in an innocuous or formal manner. Perhaps that is the style in which judicial dissertations are written. At any rate, the work abounds in platitudes, scattered information on myriad topics, and at times deliberate evasion and misinformation. However, the Tydings-McDuffie Law and the Philippine Constitution are set down intact, having suffered no revision by Mr. Malcolm.

As an example of this "two-timing", let us note his treatment of the situation with regard to the Catholic Church. He is well aware of the deep-seated hatred of the friars, the administration of the church estates which swindle the tenants until they have been bled dry. The Catholic Church hierarchy is perhaps the most important single factor in perpetuating the horrible institution of peonage as it exists in the Philippines. Devout Catholics, nevertheless, countless numbers of people are against the power of the church in state affairs. There is intense antagonism toward the Arbishop of Manila in whose name much of the feudal landholdings are registered and against the religious banks and friar orders who control vast areas of the best land and directly exploit the peasant masses.

Mr. Malcolm dismisses this situation:

"In the course of time it cannot be gainsaid by anyone that the friars as a class became unpopular. [This refers to the days of Spanish rule.] Exactly what the causes of this antagonism were need not be gone into in detail, but probably the bitterness arose largely because of the priests becoming the symbols of foreign domination with real or imaginary oppression. During the last three decades, the *breach between the people and the church has been completely healed.*"

Of course, the almost daily threats of eviction of tenants from church haciendas as reported in the press, and the organization of peasant unions against the oppressive practices of the church estates exemplify the "complete healing of the breach".

The book has evidently been highly pencil-marked by the powers that be in these strategic isles. There are chapters on finance, trade, politics, economic conditions, religion, culture and so forth, giving fragmentary facts, superficial observation and decided opinion on the question discussed.

Malcolm is a little sad that the Filipinos should have preferred their own judges of the Supreme Court and retired him and other Americans in government service with handsome pensions. So he became a crystal gazer, and this is what the crystal gazer foresees for the Philippines:

"He sees the Filipino people torn by Moro uprisings, Communist insurrections, and internal conflicts, but able to stamp out the scourges. He see the Philippines dominated by Pan-Orientalism, a vassal state of Japan. He sees the islands sustaining a population nearly equal to Japan's. He sees the elders sighing for the good old days when the Philippines had all the blessings of independence and none of its worries and did not realize her good fortune."

In other words, Malcolm would deny the Philippines their right to nationhood, prophesying that if given their independence they will cry over the good old days when they were a colony of the United States. With the subjective reaction of a man who lost a prominent and lucrative position and who was at the same time a pioneer representative of American imperialism in the Philippine Islands, it is no wonder that he cannot see a free and independent Philippines, throwing off the shackles of imperialism, discarding her monoculture or one-crop system of agriculture, and at the same time leaving room for the development of an independent farmer by expropriating the church lands. Why cannot the crystal gazer see treaties with Japan, the Soviet Union, China, Britain, France and the United States guaranteeing Philippine sovereignty? Why not reciprocal trade relations with these and other countries which would open new markets for Filipino products? Why not the prophecy of a people's government, which would secure a new deal for the debt-ridden peasants and underfed workers, and usher in a cultural renaissance which has long been overdue in this land of plenty, so long the forage ground for imperialist bandits?

HELEN MARCY

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW PAMPHLETS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT, by Earl Browder. Workers Library Publishers, 88 pages. Ten cents.

Report to the December Plenum of the Central Committee outlining the tasks facing the Communist Party in the mass struggles which lie ahead, the building of the People's Front, the fight for peace and the building of the Party. The pamphlet also contains an extract from Browder's summary at the Plenum entitled "Who Are the Real Friends of Political Asylum?", exposing the attempt of the Trotskyites to convert the right of asylum into "the right to use asylum to plot and conspire assassinations".

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, by M. Ercoli. Workers Library Publishers, 24 pp. Five cents.

Analysis of the character of the Spanish war as a bourgeois-democratic revolution and struggle for national liberation. M. Ercoli is a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

STALIN ON THE NEW SOVIET CONSTITUTION. International Publishers. 32 pp. Two cents.

Report to the Eighth Congress of Soviets, analyzing the significance of the new socialist Constitution as the embodiment of the highest aspirations toward democracy of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and as a charter of freedom for all toiling humanity. It points out the specific features distinguishing the new Soviet Constitution from bourgeois constitutions, and demolishes the criticisms leveled at the Soviet Constitution by the world bourgeois press.

HEROIC CHINA, by P. Miff. Workers Library Publishers. 96 pp. Fifteen cents.

A study of the history, background and perspectives of the national liberation movement in China, written on the fifteenth anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party, dealing with the formation of the Party in 1921, its growth and maturity, the establishment of the first Soviets, the struggle toward the unification of China, and the rise of the heroic Chinese Red Army whose influence and prestige are growing daily.

TROTSKYISM AND FASCISM, by P. Lang. Workers Library Publishers. 64 pp. Ten cents.

An indictment of Trotskyism as the agent of fascism in the ranks of the working class, showing how both fascism and Trotskyism use the common weapon of individual terror, and comparing the heroism of the revolutionary proletariat, as shown by Dimitroff at Leipzig, with the cringing servility of the Trotskyist-Zinovievist terrorists at Moscow.

A LIBRARY OF TEN CLASSICS OF MARXISM-LENINISM. International Publishers, ten pamphlets boxed in a handsome slip-case. 860 pp. $1.25.

Contains *The Communist Manifesto,* by Marx and Engels; *Wage-Labor and Capital* and *Value, Price and Profit,* by Karl Marx; *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific,* by Frederick Engels; *State and Revolution, Imperialism, The Teachings of Karl Marx* and *"Left-Wing" Communism,* by V. I. Lenin; *Foundations of Leninism,* by Joseph Stalin, and *The Program of the Communist International.*

TO DEFEND ASSASSINS IS TO HELP FASCISM, by George Dimitroff. Workers Library Publishers. 16 pp. Two cents.

Brilliant polemic against the leaders of the Second International who leaped to the defense of the assassins of the Trotsky-Zinoviev Terrorist Center, and exposing the terrorists as tools and agents of fascism.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Read More of
MARXISM-LENINISM

in Hundreds of Books, Pamphlets, Magazines for Sale at These Bookstores and Literature Distribution Centers

Aberdeen, Wash.: 115½ West Heron St.
Akron: 63 East Exchange
Baltimore: 501A N. Eutaw St.
Berkeley: 2475 Bancroft Way
Boston: 8 Beach Street
Buffalo: 61 West Chippewa
Butte: 119 Hamilton St.
Cambridge: 6½ Holyoke St.
Camden: 304 Federal Street
Chicago: 200 West Van Buren
2135 West Division St.
1326 East 57th St.
Cincinnati: 540 Main St.
Cleveland: 1522 Prospect Ave.
Denver: 521 Exchange Bldg.
Des Moines: 222 Youngerman Bldg.
Detroit: 3537 Wodward Ave.
Duluth: 28 East First St.
Grand Rapids: 319 Bridge St.
Hollywood: 1116 No. Lillian Way
Los Angeles: 230 S. Spring St.
2411½ Brooklyn Avenue
Madison, Wisc.: Commercial Bank Bldg., Room 417
Milwaukee: 419 West State St.
Minneapolis: 812 La Salle Ave.
Newark: 33 Halsey St.
New Haven: 17 Broad St.
New Orleans: 130 Chartres St.
New York: 50 East 13th St.
140 Second Ave.
98 Fourth Ave., Brooklyn
Oakland: 567 12th Street
Omaha: 311 Karbach Block
Paterson: 201 Market St.
Philadelphia: 104 So. 9th St.
118 W. Allegheny Ave.
4023 Girard Ave.
2404 Ridge Ave.
Pittsburgh: 607 Bigelow Blvd.
Portland, Ore.: 314 S. W. Madison St.
Providence: 335 Westminster St., Room 42
Racine: 205 State Street
Reading: 224 North Ninth Street
Richmond, Va.: 205 N. 2nd St.
Sacramento: 1024 Sixth St.
St. Louis: 3520 Franklin Ave.
St. Paul: 570 Wabasha St.
Salt Lake City: 134 Regent St.
San Diego: 635 E St.
San Francisco:
170 Golden Gate Ave.
1609 O'Farrell St.
121 Haight St.
San Pedro: 244 W. Sixth St.
Santa Barbara:
208 W. Canon Perdido
Seattle: 713½ Pine St.
Spokane: 114 No. Bernard
Superior: 601 Tower Ave.
Tacoma: 1315 Tacoma Ave.
Toledo: 214 Michigan
Washington, D.C.: 1125 14th St., N. W.
Youngstown:
310 W. Federal St., 3d Fl.

●

Write for a complete catalog to any of the above addresses or to

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the INTERNATIONAL List

DIALECTICS

By T. A. JACKSON

This popular introduction to dialectical materialism is written by a well-known teacher of Marxism, and is based upon half a lifetime of study and exposition. It describes the logical unity which welds all the teachings and activities of Marx and Engels into a living whole.

It begins with an analysis of the celebrated *Theses on Feuerbach,* and after expounding the materialism of Marx's dialectics, traces the dialectics of his materialism through his conception of nature and of society. The book ranges through philosophy, economics, history, etc., giving the reader a broad picture of the meaning and significance of Marxism today.

Particularly interesting are the sections on critics of Marx like G. D. H. Cole, Sidney Hook, Max Eastman, Middleton Murry.

•

"DIALECTICS is the first large scale expression of the Marxist outlook from the real, living Marxist movement in the English-speaking countries."—R. Palme Dutt.

•

A Book Union Selection *648 pages* $2.50

Just published and in active demand:

CHANGE THE WORLD, *by Michael Gold* . . .	$1.39
REVOLT ON THE CLYDE, *by William Gallacher* . .	2.50
KARL MARX: SELECTED WORKS VOLUME I . .	2.25
WAR OUR HERITAGE, *by Lash and Wechsler* . . .	.50
POLITICAL ECONOMY, *by A. Leontiev*	
A primer of Marxian economics, special reprint edition, large format	1.00

•

Order from your bookshop or from

WORKERS LIBRARY PUBLISHERS

P. O. Box 148, Sta. D New York, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED